575 563 668 The propagandists are mostly women who claim they are possessed by the spirit of Nyabingi. Every Nyabingi woman has at her disposal a certain number of abagirwa who are her servants but who often exploit for her the naïve Bahutu by exacting from them presents supposedly intended to honor Nyabingi [by inducing them] to thank her for protecting them from the Batutsi and even from the Europeans.

The Nyabingi sect has therefore a very harmful influence, not only because it keeps the Muhutu in worthless beliefs and takes advantage of his credulity by exacting from him large presents (baskets of peas, beans, and sorghum, and also sheep, goats, bull calves, and heifers) but especially because it preaches respect for an authority independent from the Mwami and excites hatred of the Batutsi chiefs and also of the occupying power. [105]

15. Social Classes

563 565 The Bahutu, dominated by the Batutsi, with the addition of a few groups of Batwa, constitute the population of the Banyarwanda.

But the Bahutu, like the Batutsi, are subdivided into several categories, each having a special name.

565 The poor Muhutu who has only a miserable patch of land, is called umutindi. If his poverty is less great, his name is umugabo. An umukungu is a man who is well provided for, owning several fields and numerous heads of cattle.

Similarly, according to their progressive wealth, the Batutsi are umukene, umukire, umutunzi, and umutware. The abatware make up a restricted aristocracy called imfura.

554 As we have seen, the favor of the Mwami or of the great chiefs may have the effect of appreciably improving the social position of even a ordinary Muhutu. On the other hand, an important chief may be reduced to the most miserable condition if he has displeased the king or if he has been cursed by his father.

558 [563] The Batwa are all on the same footing and are universally despised by the Bahutu as well as by the Batutsi.

727 567 In the past, enemy warriors were usually massacred. The noble women, reduced to slavery, were considered as Batutsikazi;

142 fact that almost all Batussi are haggard and lean. Only the older batwale (higher officials) and the affluent Baganwa (members of the royal family) have rounded body contours, but fat bellies are rarely seen even among older people. The waist is usually very thin; the chest and shoulders, however, are broad. All these characteristics are most probably the result of a long, more or less conscious natural selection, that is, breeding for great body height (cf. Luschan in Appendix II to No. 40, p. 252).

Most Batussi have sinewy limbs and a firm musculature, but no thick muscular flesh on the arms and legs. Calves are usually entirely lacking. Hands and feet are conspicuously graceful and finely jointed; by our standards they all have narrow ladies' hands with a glove size of 5 or 6 and long fingers, while their feet are narrow and small too, but with short toes. The wrist is so thin that even men can easily insert it into the [411] slit (2 1/2 to 3 1/2 centimeters wide) in the wooden discs with which they protect their left hand against the recoiling bowstring (see pp. 34 & 82). No adult European is able to do this. [301] Their copper or iron ornamental rings, worn on the right wrist, are all so narrow that they seem to be made for children. Aristocrats let the nail on the little finger grow to a length of 1 1/2 [554] to 2 1/2 centimeters as a mark of their nobility and their freedom from manual labor.

The neck is rather long and finely formed which gives the head an easy, proud bearing as contrasted with the Bantu Negro with his thick-set neck.

The head is very beautifully formed (Plate 17c, d). Since [302] the Batussi of Urundi mostly shave it smooth in contradistinction to those who live in Ruanda, one can always admire its high arch, its round, broad forehead, and its extraordinary length which makes the round occiput stretch out far beyond the base [141] of the neck. Skulls are extremely dolichocephalic.

With regard to facial form, I differentiate two types. The one, more noble, has a finely formed nose with a narrow tip and thin sides, a relatively small mouth, and narrow lips (Plate 17d);

[27] Chapter 3

Ornaments, Clothing, Weapons

301 The Barundi have very few body ornaments. Men and women wear thin rings of copper or iron wire around the ankles and above the wrist, or catgut strings with thin wire wrapped around them, and also more rarely a thick iron ring around the wrist. The men in particular wear an ornament around their necks which is unknown in Ruanda: a triangular section as thick as a finger, cut from a white shell (ikiresi), hanging on a string; for the most part it is imported from Unjamwesi (No. 19, p. 406) where men also wear it. Similarly, a polished boar's or hippopotamus tooth is worn on a string around the neck (Plate 33). More frequent these days are simple chains of pearls made of small pale pink or white European pearls; more rare are strings with small spindle-shaped wooden pegs strung in a row, with inlaid brass or copper discs like mosaics, or with all kinds of pieces of roots, animals' claws, goats' horns, etc., used as amulets (see p. 32). Small conical or bell-shaped pendants of copper or iron are also often worn in great numbers around the neck (umuhare, (Figs. 3 and 4). The thick disc-shaped wooden ring (ikirinsi), which many Barundi wear around their wrist to protect it from the recoiling bowstring when shooting (see p. 34 and Plates 11, 12b, 13, 30a), is often also merely an ornament. Although it is 20 to 25 centimeters in diameter and despite the delicate structure of the Barundi hand on which it is worn, this disc-ring nevertheless does not look clumsy since it is elegantly formed and inlaid [28] with various linear brass or copper ornaments (Plates 42, 43). The incision on its side through which the disc is slipped on the wrist is so narrow -- two and a half to three and a half centimeters -- that it is hard to see how a man's wrist can be pushed through it. A smooth ball the size of a plum and carved from fruit pits is a sign of rank or is a valuable amulet among the highborn. It is worn on top of the smoothly shaven head on a narrow strip of leather that passes around the back of the head.

301 554

[Text continues on page 41]

301 554 Often a second strip of leather, without the ball, however, goes around the head from the back to the center of the forehead. I have never seen this form of ornament worn by the Bahutu or the common Batussi but only by members of the royal kin group (Baganwa) and by the high batwale (see Plates 11, 13, 14).

302 The hair style of the Barundi is very simple. According to the reports of former travelers, there was much greater variety years ago; today the large majority shave the head completely. For this purpose, after the hair has been somewhat softened with warm water, they use a short shaving knife without a handle. Many of them leave a small, round tuft of hair on top of their heads, more rarely a remnant of hair in a different form. The children frequently appear in long "poodle locks"; they then look like Galla or Somali children (Plate 12b, 16a). The heads of women and girls are usually smooth shaven. If they wear hair, they comb it with wooden combs (Fig. 5). The men also shave their beards; axillary and pubic hair are removed among the Batussi, but not among the Bahutu who have very little anyway. The two bristly fringes of hair running diagonally across the head, which are a national trait of the Banjaruanda, are very seldom seen on a Murundi.

302 515 Common to the Batussi of both regions is the care of the skin by means of various cosmetics. Rubbing with half-liquid butter is the most frequent. Most by far of the butter produced is used for this purpose, and often some raw laterite and the juice of fragrant herbs is added to this skin ointment. Those people who have no cows and, consequently, no butter, such as most of the Bahutu, cannot smear themselves with butter. If this ointment is put on fresh every day, it is quite appetizing and nice, but if, as frequently happens, the butter turns rancid and combines with the smell of sweat and the stench of smoky huts and stables, the fellows stink so much that one can smell them at a distance of ten paces even in the dark of the night. Yet I must say in defense of the Barundi that they like to take a bath whenever water is plentiful, i.e., when drawing

[Text continues on page 42]

412 (uruwati) made of two thin boards held together by several
411 wrappings. In the same manner as the quiver, the sheath is often
[531] decorated with carved crescents or zigzag patterns (Fig. 9).
The knives are often carried by a strap running from the right shoulder to the left hip, like a shoulder belt. The much smaller
412 knives, 10 to 15 centimeters [35] long, which are found more often and which are of the same shape and used for smaller carving jobs, are either worn on a string around the neck or over the left upper arm. Only in western Lower Urundi on Lake
[177] Tanganyika can we find knives with fine copper wire nicely wound around them; there they are due to Congo influence
and are produced by Wawira [Bira] blacksmiths (No. 19, 133).
[326] In Upper Urundi proper, the Bahutu and especially the Batwa blacksmiths are the suppliers of knives.

411 Fighting clubs (uwuhiri) which were once generally used all over the region have become rather rare in Urundi; as among the Massai and the Wadschagga [Chagga] these former weapons have been degraded into a show piece or toy of the men. They consist of a beautifully planed piece of hardwood, about one third of a meter in length, which at the end has been carved into three or four edges and at the handle end is slightly thickened.

411 Shields (ingabo) are much more rare. They have com-
554 pletely lost their importance as a weapon of defense and, as in Ruanda, they have become merely the emblem of a chief or of a family (perhaps the escutcheon of a clan) (Plate 44). The king possesses several shields and each chief and his bodyguards have one each which are painted differently. The Batwa do not have any shields and are not allowed to carry any. The round shield, up to one half meter in diameter, is carved of wood it has a wooden grip and is painted with white and red segments of circles of various types. There are also shields which have reeds plaited around them (see pp. 80-81 and Plate 53) and others of identical shape made of cowhide which occur even more rarely. The same shape and ornamentation of the wooden shields and quivers recur both among the northern Bahima in Ruanda and among the southern ones in Ufipa (cf. illustration in No. 47, p. 76).

224 leopards, the worst enemy of their small cattle. A heavy beam of wood weighted with stones is suspended within a narrow, low passage leading through a strong palisade fence; it is released when a string is touched and comes crashing down (Plate 24b). A goat is tied next to the narrow passage within the fence, and the leopard attempting to reach the bleating animal through the passageway is killed by the falling beam. All leopard skins [554] have to be surrendered to the king; he alone is entitled to dress himself and his relatives in aprons of leopard skin.

223 The Batwa are very adept at setting up snares (uschiwuka) with which they catch large birds and small mammals. They also are familiar with birdlime twigs which are used to capture small birds. They make a kind of sport of quietly sneaking up to birds sitting in the underbrush and then suddenly touching them with the twig so that the animal is caught in the glue. Their way of catching guinea fowl and francolins is also rather unusual. As soon as it is dark in the evening, the hunter carrying a glowing torch made of grass proceeds to the place on the steppe where he has tracked these scratchers. The birds approach the fire out of curiosity. As soon as the hunter notices a bird, he puts the torch down beside him, and carefully taking a circuitous route, he slinks up to the bird whose attention is directed to the torch and kills it with a blow of his stick. The meat of the slain [262] animals is, of course, eaten in all these cases. The Forest Batwa subsist mainly on what they hunt, and they are not fastidious.

226 Moreover, the Batwa of interior Urundi are the only ones [563] who eat fish and engage in fishing (kuroba), while the Barundi [262] of the interior neither catch nor eat fish unless they have learned to do so from missionaries or military officers. In contrast, the Barundi of Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi are good fishermen and are passionately fond of fish. The Batwa fish mainly with a rod (igera) and only rarely with nets (urusenga), but the Barundi of the Tanganyika region use a whole series of different techniques for catching fish. The most common one, which is often engaged in on a large scale and yields the largest catch, is that of fishing by net from a boat at night. This yields almost

231 422 The cattle of the entire country belong de jure to the king (or to the highest chief), as in Ruanda. He leaves a large part of the cattle with the Batussi sub chiefs, who enjoy the usufruct, and [42] the latter, in turn, leave small herds and single animals with lower Batussi and individual Bahutu for care, further breeding, and use. A set small number of the young becomes the property of the caretaker which he holds as an irrevocable fee.

231 554 To a certain degree the almost mystical esteem in which cattle are held is transferred to the temporary owners, caretakers, and breeders of the cattle. A person who is vested with cattle is thus raised to a higher status. A Muhutu who is vested with cattle for the usufruct and for breeding is ennobled, so to speak, by this act; he is no longer subject to compulsory labor, nor does he have to work the fields for his master. Thus, the possession of cattle has a social significance which is no less important than the economic one. Not only for religious reasons but also for social and political ones, old and sick cattle are allowed to live as long as they possibly can, both in Urundi and Ruanda, for they can still be used to vest someone with them who through this rise in status is more closely tied to the Batussi rulers and the king. It is also for this reason that the immense number of cattle owned by the king are a strong support of Batussi rule.

233 All cattle are fed in pasture (Plate 23); only older calves and sick animals are fed in the stable. During the night the cattle are kept within the inner fence of the homestead. As soon as they have been cleaned after sunrise in the morning and the cows have been milked, the herd is driven to pasture (kwahura inka). The location of grazing land is determined by the season and the growth of fodder. The herd remains there until evening. Every sixth or eighth head of cattle carries a bell (insogera) made from a bent piece of sheet iron (Plate 45) or from wood; in many areas, however, there are no cattle bells at all. Twice daily the herd is driven to the water-
233 312 ing place in the nearest river valley. If the valley has no flowing water but only underground water to be obtained by digging holes, as is often the case during the dry months, long

533 on for hours. The drum concert and drum dance are hardly
535 ever accompanied by singing (No. 19, p. 388).

In Urundi and Ruanda drums are such a rarity that an
534 experienced observer wrote as recently as 1901: "In Urundi drums are unknown" (Kreuz und Schwert [Cross and Sword]. 1900, p. 212). During my own two months' journey through central Urundi, I never heard a single drumbeat. This can be explained easily by the fact that there remain only a few small areas in this country where trees still exist that are large enough to make drums (and boats). It is probably because of
534 their high value that the possession of drums has become a
554 privilege of chiefs and of the king. Neither the "people" of
778 the Barundi (Bahutu or Batussi) nor the Batwa are permitted to own drums. A special role is reserved for the king's drum. This drum, in addition to the spear, the finger ring or bracelet (wrist disc), and the holy wooden milk vessels, is part of the royal insignia which the ruler bequeaths to his successor (No. 19, p. 524). This "holy" drum is a kind of Palladium of the realm and, as such, it is given the name akarjenda. It is very big and made from the wood of a special tree. This drum is regarded as the seat of the protective spirit of the realm, and solemn vows are made by this "drum spirit" akarjenda (No. 19, p. 388). Special guards are charged with taking care of [70] this royal drum (see p. 187 [not translated]). It is always kept at the residence of the king and, together with the holy spears and the holy milk vessels, it also accompanies him on his trips (report by Captain von Langenn). The hides used for the holy drums [sic] are taken exclusively from the cattle of the so-called "holy herd" (see p. 44).

533 Neither van der Burgt nor any other observer reports having heard of the combination of several drums and other instruments to form an orchestra, but natives assured me that such an orchestra existed at the royal court and that it consisted of Batwa. I consider this very likely since there is such an orchestra, a combination of several differently tuned drums and flutes, at the residence of Musinga, king of Ruanda. The members of the orchestra are Batwa. It sounds very melodious

326 rings, etc., which are customary in the country. The Bahutu and the Batwa use the same technique, but apparently the Batwa are the more adroit blacksmiths. In Urundi blacksmiths do not form a special guild, but in some families the craft is passed on from one generation to the other. Blacksmiths live [554] with the other Barundi, and because of their craft they are highly respected. They are professional craftsmen who sell [84] their merchandise, but as in Ruanda, they often also engage in agriculture on the side. [Fig. 17 appears here in the original text.]

325 [348] The work shop (uruganda) is a small round hut, open on all sides. In its center a hollow in the ground contains the [372] charcoal fire. Since blacksmiths need charcoal for their craft and since there are few trees in this country, they mostly have their huts not far from the remains of forests or the bushes along the rivers. Charcoal from the peripheral mountains wrapped [438] in long bundles of banana leaves is sold in the interior. Next to the fireplace there are bellows, either vessel or bowl bellows (umuvuba), shaped like a large, double wooden spoon, over each of whose ends a goatskin is stretched loosely (No. 2 of Plate 45). A wooden stick is tied to the center of each skin; it serves as a piston whose upward and downward movements press the air from the vessel into the end of the pipe. The blower stands or squats behind the bellows holding a piston in each hand which he alternately moves up and down quickly. The same type of bellows is used in Ruanda where it is also used for blowing the smelting furnaces. In Urundi (according to Stuhlmann's small map in No. 32a, p. 62), still another type is said to exist, the tube or bag bellows; yet I have not been able to find out anything about it. The more common vessel bellows just described is carved from a single block of wood and opens into a short, funnel-shaped clay pipe which is placed directly among the hot coals and keeps them glowing. From time to time water is sprinkled on the glowing pile of coal.

[85] On the other side of the fireplace there is a hard stone which serves as an anvil (Fig. 17). The piece of iron which is to be forged is pushed into the glowing coals with a wet, clamp-like piece of wood or with a pointed iron pin, and it is pulled

[Text continues on page 128]

643 person of one vassal. This simplifies the administration con-
631 siderably. Often, however, the vassal is vested with the tenure
423 of the mountain and the Bahutu who live there as his bondsmen, but he does not receive at the same time all the privileges; another Mutussi may receive the war fief on the same mountain, i.e., he may have the duty of assembling the local men in case of war, or a third Mutussi on this mountain may be in charge of dividing up the grazing land, etc. [90] The object and result of this organization is to make each of the holders of these privileges jealously watch over the others and to insure that the king keeps the reins of power firmly in his hands.

634 The mutwale who has been vested with a fief is, however,
614 the ruler of the Bahutu and Batwa in his feudal domain. He determines the work load of his people and has jurisdiction over ordinary affairs. However, the position of the people under him is not at all like slavery. They enjoy a considerable amount of freedom and are entitled to certain privileges. In addition
[628] they always have as support their kin group, their clan, which can be depended upon to take secret, bloody revenge for any real acts of violence on the part of the batwale or any other person. It is a kind of Vehmic organization which is respected even by the most powerful Batussi batwale. Also, each Muhutu is entitled to leave his feudal lord if the latter maltreats him and to look for a new master. However, since the reputation
[554] and wealth of each Mutussi depends chiefly on how many people he has, it is in his own interests to see to it that his people do not leave him as a result of maltreatment.

662 The king always surrounds the high vassals and batwale with spies in order not to allow them to become too independent. Beyond that, however, jealousy and envy are powerful motives for each mutwale to exercise a check on his neighbor. Naturally intrigue and incrimination are widespread. If a case of dis-
687 loyalty or high treason is reported to the king and is discovered to be well-founded, royal justice acts quickly with spear and poison. Nevertheless, several grand batwale have managed to
631 attain a large degree of independence in the course of time. This is particularly true of those living in the exposed border

563
554 The second important legal sphere is constituted by social conditions, but first, something about the social stratification. I shall reserve a separate chapter for the relationships within the clan and family (p. 98 , 106). As has already been mentioned, social stratification is determined by the three racial elements of which the Barundi people is composed: Hamitic Batussi, Bantu Bahutu, and the original indigenous population, the Batwa. By the law of conquest, the Batussi form the nobility; the Bahutu are those who are not free, or rather those whose rights are only conditional; and the Batwa are the helots who have no rights. If we disregard the Batwa pariahs, there is no separation of castes closed off from one another, although the priests (kiranga), the sorcerers and medicine men (abafumu), and partly also the religious brotherhoods (ababandwa) enjoy a privileged position on the basis of their magical powers which other persons lack. The professional craftsmen, especially the blacksmiths, also maintain a particularly respected position if they are Batussi or Bahutu, but this does not apply to Batwa. And, as is true everywhere, the
[556] rich in Urundi enjoy more respect and influence than the poor.

In spite of the considerable difference in social and legal status and in spite of the arrogance of the Batussi, the latter associate with the Bahutu on a friendly basis in most cases, a relationship similar to that between a master and his useful, docile servant. Even if a Mutussi is a mutwale of the lowest rank or a petty feudal lord, the Muhutu will never forget that in his relations with the former he is dealing with a master. If he should ever forget this, he most certainly would be reminded of his inferior status in a manner which would not be pleasant for him, but the "better situated" Muhutu regards the ordinary non-propertied Mutussi as his equal. At times, although
[552] only rarely, there are even marriages between Batussi and Bahutu, yet these are not considered as completely valid (see p. 101 , 169). It is also reported that, as in Ruanda, a Muhutu
[557] may be promoted to the privileged class of the Batussi by an act of royal favor.

563 The Batwa, however, stand entirely apart from and below the others. They are not slaves who are forced to render services, but they are regarded as excluded from the society of the others, as outcasts whom the Batussi and the Bahutu despise and detest. They are considered animals, not human beings (No. 19, p. 541). The Batussi and Bahutu do indeed buy all kinds of handicraft products, especially pots, from them and also employ them as medicine men, musicians, and watchmen, but they never enter into closer relationships with them. (In Ruanda it is more likely that exceptions will be made, especially at the royal court.) A Mutussi or a Muhutu will never enter the hut of a Mutwa, he will never eat or drink with him, nor will he use a pot or a garment which has already been used by a Mutwa. [95] Only one thing is permitted: the [576] Mutwa may greet the Murundi and return his greeting although in a different manner than a Murundi would have done.

576 Depending on the social status of the person who tenders a greeting and the person greeted, there are considerable dif- 554 ferences between the forms of greeting used among the Barundi. In all cases the greeting is tendered and returned with a certain amount of ceremonial politeness so much so that some observers maintain that greetings are a kind of religious act. Even the words of the stereotyped greeting often suggest a religious connection (see p. 46). It is perhaps for this reason, but even more likely because of the great innate or learned politeness of the Murundi, that each of them would consider it a serious insult if he were not greeted or if his greeting were not returned. Corresponding to the social stratification of the people, we may differentiate three large groups of greetings.

576 1. Greeting the king. The person greeting the king kneels down, 643 bends toward him, claps his hands in his direction, and calls 554 out: "uganse umwami" (command me, King) or "ugire umwami" (may you enjoy good health, King). The members of the royal family, the Baganwa, who for the most part rule the provinces as head chiefs, are greeted in a similar fashion.

554 2. Greeting the batwale who are not of royal blood and the lesser 576 chiefs of communities. The person tendering the greeting bows

554 toward the mutwale and calls out "amahoro umutwale" (Peace,
576 Mutwale) or "mwakeje umutwale" (did you wake up in good health, Mutwale?), whereupon the person addressed simply answers "amahoro" or "mwakeje." Or the person tendering the greeting calls out "turakuje ubwatsi" (we offer you grass) or "sjinde awansi" (conquer your enemies). At the same time the greeter plucks a handful of leaves, straw, or grass and places them at the feet of the king or the mutwale. This is a symbol of submission for the grass or straw is the symbol of the soil and of all that grows on it (No. 14, p. 48; No. 22, p. 254; No. 4, p. 79). The "grass homage" is a widespread custom among the
[171] Hamitic nations of herdsmen and it also plays a ceremonial role among the Galla (A. Werner, "The Galla of East Africa," Journal of the African Society, Vol. 13, p. 275).

576 3. Greetings exchanged between ordinary Barundi. There is an extraordinary number of different types of greeting depending on the time of day, the occasion and the person involved, etc. In this type of greeting, "mwakeje" or "amahoro" is also used as the beginning phrase in most cases, but after that there follows a whole flood of phrases exchanged between the two persons. When taking leave, it is quite customary to call "ibaba" or "akababa" to the other person. These words are also used by the Wanjamwesi (No. 19, p. 529).

The Barundi do not embrace or kiss each other as a form of greeting, but there is a peculiar kind of accolade which is the customary form of greeting among relatives and friends. It is executed in a very ceremonial fashion and is accompanied by many turns of speech (No. 23, 1904, p. 36). If someone meets one of his relatives or a close acquaintance, he first gazes at him for some time without saying anything and then approaches, stretching his folded hands toward the person. The other takes these folded hands between his own and then gently strokes the arms of the person who greeted him. At the same time, the chests and heads of the two approach one another as though they intended to embrace. While these gestures are being made, numerous phrases of greeting are exchanged. The words

357 like a member of the family (No. 19, p. 13). The adopted
597 person does the work around the house, tends the cattle, and
592 tills the fields, but he cannot acquire any property. If he wishes to give up his job and offer his services to another master, he may do so at any time, but the former master has so many indirect means at his disposal to force the servant to stay that most of those who have themselves adopted spend the rest of their lives with the same master.

592 Thus, the circle of dependents or retainers of any prosper-
554 ous and influential Murundi consists of these domestic servants,
573 of impoverished relatives and parasitic friends, fortune-hunting flatterers, and economic and political dependents of all sorts. Every day they pay homage to him in his kraal and accompany him wherever he goes. The greater the master's reputation, the larger is his entourage. It is rare that one sees a Mutussi of high status walking with an entourage of less than a dozen persons and often with as many as 20 to 30. In Urundi the entourage is called mafuatano; in Ruanda where the same institution exists it is referred to as bagaragu.

681 Debt slavery does not exist in Urundi. The Barundi, how-
[561] ever, have a great variety of very drastic punishments (ikihano) for violations of the law causing damage to life, limb, and property. In most cases the guilty party or his relatives or clan may atone for the misdemeanor or crime by a smaller or larger payment in the form of produce, cattle, salt, pearls, iron, etc. The amount is determined by the mutwale who acts as the judge (p. 94). If it is a case of a serious crime, manslaughter, murder,
628 or a serious injury, the kin group or clan vendetta (see p. 105)
672 becomes operative; this is done with the cooperation of the au-
681 thorities. The injured party or, if he has been killed, his kin group attempts to seize the wrongdoer by any means at their disposal. If the latter takes refuge in a neighboring province beyond the avenging arm of the injured kin group, an attempt will be made to catch one or several of his wives, children, brothers or sisters, close relatives, or members of his clan in his place. The captive is bound and locked up until his family obtains his freedom by paying a large amount of ransom money. This is forthcoming

751 rinds are also used for this purpose; often they are then artfully
789 decorated with pieces of wire or strings of beads which are twisted around them. Depending on the magic power which the umufumu has imparted to the amulet, there are protective amulets supposed to help against certain accidents and maladies, against the malice of evil spirits, and against witchcraft used by persons endowed with magic powers. There are also lucky amulets for bringing about good harvests, healthy cattle, safe journeys, strong and healthy babies, etc. Rich persons who [556] can afford the luxury of many expensive amulets wear them around their necks in such numbers that their entire chests are covered with them, reminding one of the cascades of medals on the chests of European diplomats. Of course, the most [554] amulets are worn by the great chiefs and Batussi batwale who are usually feared and respected as medicine men themselves.

The following description gives an example. "Leaning on an enormously long staff and armed with a powerful spear, the old chief Rumonge walks among his people like a simple citizen. There is nothing to set him apart from the others except the innumerable amulets which decorate his neck, chest, back, his hips, arms, and legs. He is known as an extraordinarily powerful sorcerer which greatly increases the fear and respect with which he is regarded by his subjects. And his words are made more telling by the use which he or his aides make of his heavy club" (Kreuz und Schwert [Cross and Sword], 1900, p. 70).

[791] The Batwa produce most of the amulets used by the Barundi, but the other abafumu are also very productive in manufacturing amulets, and, of course, this is one of their most lucrative sources of income.

754 The abafumu have another important task: to discover
791 and to put out of action persons skilled in witchcraft who in various ways bring harm and misfortune on their fellow citizens. These witches and necromancers, called abarosi (sing., umurosi), are

423 dispersed areas. The chief would have his *ingo* (plural of *rugo*, residence) built on several hills, and usually establish one of his wives in each of them, to direct the centre entrusted to her. This is a very typical estate organization : it is based on polygamy.

The position towards cattle-owners

422 661 We have said that the *mwami* did not possess the land : neither has he any right of possession over the big cattle. The *mwami* would sometimes take cattle where he found them, but this was only a violent misuse of his tyrannical power. Batutsi and even Bahutu cattle-rearers are definitely the owners of their herds when, of course, the cattle are not simply entrusted to them.

231 43 357 These cattle can be given and this very thing adds a great deal to their worth, for those who desire them are naturally attracted towards those who own them. The king presents with cows the great who come to pay him homage. During the great annual sorghum festival, he ritually distributes cattle to some methodically chosen persons. The great men used to be surrounded, and are still, with a group of servants of various ranks : *ntore* (vassals who owed them a more important military aid than the average tenants), *bagendanyi* (young attendants charged to carry out their messages), *bakamyi* (young Batutsi entrusted with the milking of the cows), *abungere* who watch over the cattle), *bakevvi* (cooks), *inshoreke* (female attendants and servants). The most esteemed among these followers (*ntore*, *bagendanyi*, *bakamyi*) hope to receive cows one day, the *bakamyi* especially, on the day when they will leave the service to get married.

231 675 425 554 There are also the so-called cattle-contracts. Here are the most interesting of them : (1) A cattle-owner gives someone a cow, in exchange, the donee will later return a calf after the cow has calved two or three times. (2) An important owner gives several cows to a man who must in his turn permanently provide him with a milch-cow. (3) The owner of an important herd entrusts a man with the breeding of several cows which he may use for milk and manure ; one of the cows will be his if the herd has prospered.

In all these cases, the recipient becomes the liege of the donor (or the depositor). In some cases, the recipient is considered a near relative, even a son of the donor and marriage impediments ensue from the assimilation. On the other hand, the higher the donor is socially speaking, the less he tries to derive material profit from these transactions : his real profit is in the power he acquires over the person of the recipient.

423 425 *The relations between agriculturists*

Similar ties may exist between agriculturists. The

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

had incurred the king's displeasure and was for that reason left without protectors, friends, or cattle was in a desperate situation; only with difficulty could he gain a bare subsistence. A Muhutu against whom an accusation of sorcery was repeated; an unmarried girl of a noble family whose pregnancy became publicly known; all these, if they failed to escape from their predicament by skill and rational behaviour (such as obtaining the king's mercy, denying the charge of sorcery and looking for the protection of a powerful man, using abortifacients or denying the pregnancy), would have recourse to the *bapfumu*, seeking to know what spirit or sorcerer was responsible for their misfortune and how to appease the malevolent being. If all the practices and offerings recommended by the diviner had no effect, then they called upon *Imana*, and if their prayers were unanswered, only drastic solutions remained, such as exile in a foreign country or suicide. But these tragic destinies were not numerous and they did not shake the belief of the majority in the moderate happiness of living.

There is a further reason for their generally cheerful acceptance of the conditions of their existence. Banyarwanda are not inclined to speculate about the inaccessible. Westerners are given to imagining how beautiful and good life might be if humanity and the universe were different from what they are. This trend of thinking is quite alien to Banyarwanda and, when it is suggested, appears futile to them. The usual, the normal (in the sense of what we are accustomed to, and what we have reason to expect) is often self-explanatory. When a particular event fits into the normal scheme of things, there are no questions to be asked. If everybody has to relinquish this existence and die, death is no scandal or absurdity. It is the way *Imana* has arranged things. There is no further problem.

Cultural Values

Human action is determined partly by cultural values, partly by the socially recognized means of attaining them. By cultural values we mean the final or intermediate aims that are considered the proper purposes of human activity in a particular society.

In a stratified society, such as that of Ruanda, each layer is likely to have its own set of values, although some of those originating in one group may extend to others. Let us begin with the Batutsi. When a Mututsi informant is asked what the people of his group wish for above all, the answer comes immediately: 'children and cattle.' A further question, 'why?', discloses that these are not ultimate values sought for themselves, but intermediate ones, means to reach more abstract ends. The latter are power (*amaboko*) and reputation (*ugukomera*).

Power is understood here in connexion with persons (power over somebody) rather than with things (power to do something). It is, to paraphrase Lasswell's definition, the ability that a person, engaged in a human relationship with another, has to oblige the latter to do or not to do something (on pain of suffering severe privation). Power is essentially the capacity to

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

exert a significant pressure on somebody. In Ruanda, to be powerful is to be able to exact from others tribute in labour or in kind, or support for one's claims to some advantage to be obtained from the king. In the latter case pressure may remain undefined and indirect: for instance, a threat to withold backing which may later be necessary to the person who is now asked to support a request. We desire to have cattle, say our informants, because by giving one or two beasts to a Muhutu, he becomes our client (*mugaragu*) and then has to do, to a large extent, what we ask of him. We also like to have cattle in order to get as vassal another Mututsi who lacks them. The services expected from a vassal are not manual, but he will increase the influence of his lord by his family connexions and will be useful through his diplomatic shrewdness in dealing with his lord's intrigues. Finally, we desire to become ourselves the vassals of great chiefs, or even of the king, because we are then under the protection of somebody very important, we get more cows and that allows us to have more clients.

In order to become powerful it is important, almost indispensable, to have many children. Girls, by their marriages, extend one's family connexions and bring their fathers a few cows as bridewealth. Boys at an early age begin their military training which gives them a complete education in the skills, knowledge, and virtues pertaining to their noble condition. This training is given them as *intore* (chosen ones) at the royal court or at the court of an important chief. For a father to have a son at court would reinforce his influence: through his son he knows what is going on, and the king or the chief is constantly reminded of the father by the son's presence —an important security for the father. The boy could also increase the influence of his family by becoming the client of a powerful Mututsi, and thereby getting protection and cows for himself and his parents' family (*mulyango*). Finally, the marriages of his sons could create new links between the father and the families of his daughters-in-law.

In complex societies like our own the roads to power are many. In Ruanda it does not appear that power could be readily attained except through the possession of children and cows. As we shall see, warlike valour could confer very high prestige, but not necessarily power. Great warriors were often granted herds of cattle by the king as rewards for their prowess, and could then gain power by their cattle, but not directly.

If we press our analysis farther, we may say that from the point of view of power, the significance of children is to provide cattle or connexions. On the other hand, cattle give direct power (over the Bahutu clients) or ensure connexions. In relation to Bahutu labourers, cattle have many of the social functions of money in our culture. They enable the man who owns them to exert pressure on those who have few or none of their own and who try to acquire them in exchange for services. In order to facilitate comparison with other ways of life, we may use the term wealth (as a medium of exchange) instead of cattle. As for connexions, what is meant here is that type of relationship in which one party may require something from the

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

181 other under the threat of some sanction. In Ruanda, of course, it would be
554 considered very improper to give orders or to utter a threat, but beneath the
556 polite phrasing, the true meaning of the relationship is clear. Consequently
564 we may say that in Ruanda, the only means to power are wealth and relationships in which sanctions are implied.

181 The other ultimate value of Banyarwanda, reputation, is also closely con-
554 nected with children and cattle. First, because powerful men are greatly
233 respected and everybody knows the significance of daughters, sons, and
564 cattle as means to power. Second, because cattle have also a high prestige-
[272] value in themselves. Indeed to entertain friends properly and to maintain the superior style of living of the nobles, one must have plenty of milk. Milk is the beverage of the high caste. They also drink hydromel and banana-beer, but milk is more characteristic of the Mututsi way of life. It was considered a complete food, and true Batutsi were said to live on milk alone. As each cow did not produce much milk, it was necessary to have an important herd to provide for the needs of a well-to-do Mututsi family. Moreover, cattle had an important aesthetic value in Ruanda. To be expert in cattle-
[538] breeding was required of the nobility. A whole category of poetry was devoted to the praises of famous cows, individually identified. Very beautiful cows (called *inyambo*) were regarded as belonging to the king even if they had been produced in somebody else's herd. In many festivities cattle were presented to the king or to great chiefs. All this indicates that cattle were objects of keen interest and aroused feelings of pride similar to those associated in some Western sub-cultures with the ownership of hunters or luxury cars. Cattle were the privileged possession of the superior caste, just as in Europe, in the Middle Ages, a noble had to have some landed property. Without losing status, he could not exchange his real estate for gold or goods even if they were worth much more. Such being the feelings and emotions attached to the possession of cattle in Ruanda, their high prestige-value is readily understandable.

181 The antiquity of a family is highly valued in Ruanda. Almost any Mututsi
554 is able to give the names of his ancestors for six or eight generations. A
564 family has property which is handed on from one generation to another, common ancestors to be honoured, a set of traditions and legends. It is a living reality in which one is proud to participate. Against that background one may appreciate how children, and particularly sons, give prestige to the parents. To have many children ensures that family traditions will be maintained, that the importance of the family will increase, that its property will be kept and even enlarged, that the ancestors will be honoured. This not only makes the parents happy, but is recognized by other people and their esteem for the father is enhanced.

181 Besides recognition of their power, admiration for their cattle, and the
554 respect paid to them on account of their having many children, the Batutsi
564 seek more specific reputations. They like to be recognized as courageous. They came to Ruanda by conquest and, till the European occupation, their

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

main social function as a caste was to make war, more often offensive than defensive. Consequently military courage (*ubutwari*) was highly praised. There are numerous and interminable poems made by official bards, telling stories of battle and commemorating military prowess. The young Batutsi, during their training, were taught to compose such poems and even to invent imaginary doughty deeds. Special signs, or badges of honour, were granted to those who had killed seven or fourteen enemies during an expedition; there was a special ceremony to honour warriors who had killed twenty-one persons in a campaign. Some informants were still able to give the names of warriors who had received these marks of honour.

It is worthwhile to note, however, that even in a society so focused on military values, great warriors could gain an extreme popularity but not, at least directly, social power. Martial valour as such was not even considered a special qualification for becoming commander of the army (*mutware w' ingabo*). During battles, indeed, the chief of the army had to stay motionless in his headquarters. He was magically identified with his army: he could not move backwards without endangering the advance of the army. This type of command did not require much courage. An army commander was, on the other hand, very high in the power scale. Members of the army had to give him cattle on certain occasions (when he was taking up his duties, when he was reviewing the herds of the army members); the king granted him cattle in some circumstances, for instance, after a battle had been won, or he entrusted to the army the care of some herds. By these means the army chief had control of many beasts: he could then increase his clientship, and thus his social power, by gifts of cattle.

A Mututsi also greatly desires to be regarded as having *ubugabo*. This means the quality of being a man (*mugabo*); it includes trustworthiness in keeping promises, generosity in treating one's friends well, liberality towards the poor, moral courage in accepting one's responsibilities. In a society where relations of inferiority and superiority are predominantly personal, in the sense that authority is rarely abstract (a law, a principle) but generally identified with a person (chief, king, lord, &c.), emphasis is laid on fidelity in any personal relationship.

Another quality that the Batutsi are extremely proud to have is *itonde*. This may be translated as 'self-mastery'. To lose one's temper, to manifest violent emotion by crying is really shameful. Anger, in particular, should not be violently expressed. The demeanour of a Mututsi should always be dignified, polite, amiable, if a little supercilious. Batutsi manners have often been called hypocritical. This would be true if such behaviour were displayed in an extrovert culture where it is considered unethical not to express to a person exactly what one thinks about him. But in Ruanda it is taken for granted that only vulgar persons reveal all their attitudes and emotions. This is understandable in a strongly hierarchical society, where the authority of a superior is not restricted to certain specific domains of the life of his inferior, and where to express any disagreement with the superior

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

is thought inappropriate. This is the point of view alike of the inferior (and everyone in Ruanda, except the king, has a superior) and of the superior (and any Mututsi is the superior of a certain number of people). Bahutu are not, and are not expected to be, very self-controlled; they are correspondingly impressed by the external dignity of the Batutsi. An aristocratic caste usually emphasizes those differences which constantly remind others how far removed they are from the noble set.[1]

When inquiries were made as to the kind of reputation the Batutsi specially wanted to avoid, the answers given did not generally indicate qualities opposed to those thought desirable, but referred to reputations in which an external danger is involved. Above all, a Mututsi fears to be considered an enemy of the king. This is partly because he feels a genuine respect for the king, but mainly because to be reputed the king's enemy was formerly extremely dangerous. It could mean dispossession of all property, severance of all social relations, exile, or death. A Mututsi also fears to be considered a traitor to his chief. This is less dangerous but it involves sanctions: if a Mututsi has been disloyal to his lord (*shebuja*), the latter may take back from him all he gave him previously and eventually all his cattle.

All this relates to the good or bad reputations people desire or fear while living, but the Batutsi are equally concerned with their posthumous fame. To be remembered as a great warrior or a powerful cattle-owner was the normal ambition of any Mututsi. Some deaths were particularly glorious: for example, to be killed in battle or to lose one's life rather than surrender one's cattle, because this is to be deprived of the only means of living in a manner appropriate to one's rank.

The longing for fame after death seems to be deeper and commoner than in our culture. It is not unlike the Ciceronian concept of *gloria*. It is a desire to go on living in men's memory quite apart from a belief in a supernatural immortality and, like *gloria*, has nothing to do with mythological conceptions of the beyond. Banyarwanda do not think that the spirits of the dead will take pleasure from the great reputations they have on earth, or so at least our informants told us. 'If *bazimu* know perhaps the fame that the people from whom they come enjoy among the living, it is definitely not for that reason that we hope to be famous after our death.' It is possible, however, that it may be connected with the belief that the living will make more offerings to the *mužimu* of somebody who is widely remembered, though we did not find evidence of any belief that the spirits would suffer a kind of second death, and disappear completely if and when they were forgotten by the living.

To sum up, the ultimate values for the aristocracy are power and reputation. Children[2] and cattle are their main intermediate values in the sense

[1] There are, of course, other virtues that a Mututsi likes to be thought to possess, but the three we have mentioned seem the most important according to our informants.

[2] The preceding account might give the impression that for the Batutsi, children are only means to power and fame. This view would overlook the fact that people also enjoy

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

that they are the almost indispensable means for achieving these ends. The originality of Ruanda culture does not lie in its high valuation of power and fame. These are recognized ends in many cultures. What is distinctive is the paucity and the indispensability of the means provided in that society for effecting these purposes.

An ordinary Muhutu could never hope to achieve a position of power over other men comparable to that which a Mututsi could attain without difficulty. A well-to-do Muhutu could acquire a few servants either by ensuring the subsistence of other Bahutu poorer than himself or, like a Mututsi, by the gift of cattle. But this was not common. Ambition for power is proper to people who do not have to worry about fundamental human needs such as food, shelter, &c. The ultimate value for Bahutu is security, for this means protection from the things our informants say they fear above all: accusations of witchcraft, starvation, and the arbitrary actions of the powerful. There are no direct methods of protecting oneself against the first of these threats. All that can be done preventively is to be a good neighbour, not to be envied by anybody, not to have enemies. . . . But there are ways of reducing the other two dangers and these are the intermediate values which the Bahutu earnestly seek: work, children, and patronage.

Bahutu till the soil from which they have to get subsistence, the tribute demanded by the chief, and perhaps a surplus. This surplus is extremely important because it will enable them to acquire some goats, sheep, even a cow, to have the time to work for their lord, to store enough food to get a few servants who will then increase production. Surpluses may be obtained only by work. That is why, among Bahutu, the man or the woman who works hard and competently is highly considered. Work enables Bahutu to achieve some security against starvation and even to attain moderate wealth.

There is a Ruanda proverb that the dog is not feared because of his fangs but because of his master. This is the main reason why a Muhutu wants to have a patron. A peasant rich enough to own a couple of cows needs the protection of somebody more powerful than himself in order to avoid the arbitrary exactions of some member of the dominant class. Patronage was institutionalized by the *buhake* agreement mentioned above. Like the lord in medieval Europe, the patron was bound to protect his client in most of the dangerous situations of life. A second reason for seeking a patron lay in the material and moral advantages accruing from the possession of cattle.

If we wish to state Bahutu values in more abstract terms, we may say that they seek security through the production of agricultural goods and the protection of a powerful patron.

Although he is not indifferent to his reputation, the Muhutu does not seem to stress its importance as much as does the Mututsi. The reputation he desires reflects the values of his caste. He likes to be considered a

their children just because they are their children. This, of course, exists in Ruanda as in many other cultures.

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

181 554 554 *mugabo* (a rich man) and a *mukungu*—a very rich man possessing a few cows, many fields, goats, and bee-hives. He enjoys the recognition of his fidelity to his master and his qualities as a labourer.

The Batwa never had the stability of peasants. They were hunters, potters, dancers, buffoons, and were regarded by their neighbours as being on the margin of society. They did not possess anything that others could envy. Consequently security from exactions was not such an important value for them. As people who lived a hazardous and unsettled existence, they greatly appreciated momentary and immediate satisfactions, and among these, food, especially during periods of scarcity, was the object of their activity. Their principal means of securing food varied according to their particular occupations. Hunters depended on their ability and their courage, of which they were very proud. Dancers, musicians, and buffoons relied on their talents and on the favour of their masters, their loyalty to whom was widely recognized. Indeed it is said that one could rely upon a Mutwa much more than on anybody else.

The social and economic situation of the Batwa explains and to some extent determines the value they attach to gratifying the basic need for food. Ability in their specialized occupations and a blind faithfulness to their masters were the best means to achieve that satisfaction, but skills and loyalty were also valued for themselves.

Rules of Human Action

577 183 These values, ultimate and intermediate, were eagerly sought by Banyarwanda but, as in any society, some means for realizing them were prohibited under certain circumstances. Stealing is rarely, if ever, culturally accepted as an ordinary practice for getting rich. Socially defined values are to be reached by socially approved means. We do not suggest that, in a particular society, the rules of action appear as merely social imperatives, or that the only basis for these rules is social. We would point out that some rules of action, whatever their origin and their philosophical foundation, are part of the collective heritage in any society. In Ruanda, as elsewhere, there are such rules of action. Murdering somebody who is not an enemy of one's family is prohibited. Women are forbidden to commit adultery and, among Batutsi and Bahutu, unmarried girls may not have sexual intercourse. When an order is issued by somebody in authority it has to be obeyed.

577 626 Does submission to the rules appear only as the rational behaviour of one who wishes to avoid an external punishment or is it moral conduct? Does a prospective offender refrain from wrong-doing simply in order to avoid very probable and unpleasant consequences, or is it his conscience which tells him that he should not follow his desire?

Of course this is not an either-or problem, but the question of degree or relative stress is important. Even in cultures which lay most stress on the moral motivation to action, external social sanctions are useful deterrents from prohibited behaviour. In Ruanda these external sanctions exist. Those

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

from the heavenly world. According to some versions of this tale, they came with their servant, Mutwa, who mated with a forest ape. From that union all Batwa are descended. Such tales clearly reveal the fundamental differences which the Banyarwanda see among their castes.

When such a picture of 'natural' differences, so significant from the point of view of power, is accepted, the inevitable consequence is that some men are born chiefs and others labourers. Inferiority and superiority are due not to personal qualities but to membership of certain groups. By belonging to different castes, people have fundamentally unequal rights. If an ordinary Mututsi kills a Muhutu, one kinsman of the murderer could eventually be killed in retaliation if the king authorized it. If the murderer was a Muhutu and the victim a Mututsi, two lives were taken.

The principle of the fundamental inequality between social groups thus established in Ruanda has spread from the original inter-caste relations to intra-caste situations. A man superior to another member of his class because of his functions or his wealth, or even his ability, tends to assume towards his inferior an attitude similar to that of a Mututsi *vis-à-vis* a Muhutu. Of course the conception of inequality between superiors and inferiors of the same class is not so rigid as that between the castes, but it permeates all hierarchical situations in Ruanda.

The theme of inequality was embodied in the indigenous political organization, so that political relations clearly express the attitudes socially expected from superiors and inferiors. They are quite understandable if one bears in mind that they originate from an inter-caste situation. Authority as such is all-embracing. According to Western conceptions, any authority is defined not only as regards the people who are subject to it, but also in respect of the matters falling within its competence. A man who gives orders to another because they are on different levels in a hierarchical scale may be considered his equal in other relations. In Ruanda, there is almost no sphere of life in which an inferior is free from the interference of his superior. Because Batutsi are considered fundamentally superior to the Bahutu, there is no field in which they can feel equal. This attitude has been transferred to any hierarchical situation. The complementary attitude of dependence is, of course, expected from the inferior. Inferiority is the relative situation of a person who has to submit to another in a clearly defined field; dependence is inferiority in the totality of life. The dependent person has to submit to his master in any question. There is no domain where he is free even to express a contrary opinion. As the dependent has always to acquiesce even when orders are quite impracticable, he has to conceal his opinions and find excuses for not doing what has been ordered. Double-dealing, politeness, or a utilitarian conception of language, are the only defences of the dependent. Some time ago, a Ruanda deliberative assembly of people of standing was asked its opinion on a contemplated reform. When the most important person had given his views, everybody voted for his proposition. But after the assembly, many expressed disagreement. At the

4: Maquet E-5 (1950-1951) 1954 FO42 Rundi FO42

time of the vote, they had considered it improper and impolite not to agree with their superior.

On the other hand, no superior enjoys a purely arbitrary power. There are norms which are informally enforced by social pressure; and this is particularly important for people so concerned about their reputations. Since, moreover, there are several chiefs of equal rank belonging to different political structures, it is not difficult for the subject of one superior to secure support in opposing him from another. Finally, there is the possibility of appeal to a higher authority empowered to control subordinate chiefs. All this limits, in fact, the authority of chiefs, but nevertheless the authority of a superior cannot be questioned by his subjects. They may escape, intrigue, or look for another protector, but they cannot offer direct opposition. The Western conception of contract, derived from Roman law, with well-defined obligations on both parties who are equal before and during the contract, is accordingly not understood or acted upon even by Banyarwanda who have long been familiar with our culture.

Any superior is a protector, and his protection is of the same character as his authority: all-embracing and limited only by his own convenience. In any difficulty, the inferior may ask the help of his master, and, if help is refused, it will not be on the grounds that the superior is not concerned with that aspect of the life of the subordinate. On the other hand, the superior himself will be the only judge of the limits of his intervention, for the dependent has no right to require anything from his superior.

Everywhere men in authority enjoy advantages denied to those whom they command, but it is often felt that justification is needed for these privileges. In Ruanda such rationalizations do not seem to be required. It is taken for granted by everybody, the subjects included, that superiors as such should derive profits from their position. The very high standard of living of Europeans is accepted without any criticism by 'traditional' Banyarwanda not yet imbued with egalitarian principles.

The conception of authority as all-embracing, unlimited, protective, profitable, and of inferiority as dependent, devoid of rights, fundamentally weak, and generally exploited, is exactly suited to a structure of castes composed of human beings who are thought to be fundamentally different and unequal. On these inter-caste relations all hierarchical relations have been modelled. This means that the conceptions and attitudes which have just been sketched pervade most human relations in Ruanda. Indeed, very many human interactions involve persons who, in Ruanda, are placed on a hierarchical scale: man and woman, husband and wife, mother and child, father and son, old and young, craftsman and apprentice, &c., and when there is also a superiority-inferiority situation, even though confined to one aspect of the relation, the whole of that relation is impregnated with inequality.

Another basic principle governing the field of human relations in Ruanda is that of indefinite reciprocity. Whenever somebody receives a service,

535 The kubyin' umudiho is danced by both men and women, who range themselves in a circle and clap their hands in time while their feet tread the ground. /445/

The word "dance" conveys but imperfectly the pastimes we are describing.

They are rather war games and hunting games. The imitation and mimicry of combats and the pursuit of game are very expressive. The Blacks spend hours on end simulating a battle, challenging and crushing imaginary enemies. From time to time they put down their weapons or present them to the king in perfect unity of motion, sing for a while the great deeds of the monarch, and then renew their fictional struggle.

The men's mudiho and that of the women, or young girls, are closer to the dance.

The women first come forward slowly to the sounds of a chanted elegy, and then some of them leave the group and execute graceful movements guided by the singing and hand clapping of their companions.

Their dances are more aesthetic and less wild.

644 535 b. The corps of pages (intore, from the word gutora, "to choose"), who are recruited among the sons of chiefs, is not the least interesting among the groups who surround the king and who live wholly for his service and pleasure.

Along with the dancers, they contribute a great deal with their gambols and gyrations to the distinctive character of the public festivities which are celebrated at court from time to time, to the festival of the "First fruits," and to the day that closes the great June mourning (igichurassi).

They have special dances for which they undergo an apprenticeship almost daily for several years.

535 554 Like the king, each great Mutusi chief entrusts his pages to the care of highly paid dancing teachers who are to instruct their pupils in new motions and rhythms. This is why the training is carried out secretly /446/, so the "ballets" will be new. A chief derives honor and pleasure from hearing that his pages are the best trained. A great rivalry exists in this connection, therefore, among the various page corps and their respective chiefs.

178 643 782 The Blacks insist that the custom was not followed when the present king ascended the throne in 1896. The bloody events which took place at that time caused it to be overlooked.

It is not certain either that the Bakunzi, or people from Bukunzi, lent themselves to this custom willingly, considering its odiousness and the independence they were beginning to show in their dealings with the Hamitic king.

Privileges and Favors at Court

661 644 In the course of this work, there has been frequent mention of exemptions, franchises, and immunities granted to individuals or families. The reader is advised to look into Fondation du Royaume hamite /Founding of the Hamitic Kingdom/ and Histoire du Règne de Ruganzu II (History of the Reign of Ruganzu II) /Books II and III, not translated/, in order to familiarize himself with the subject.

He will find there the approximate time when those rights were granted and the reasons for their existence, and he will be surprised to encounter instances of regional autonomy.

We shall speak here only of certain favors or /466/ privileges of a special character, granted for a specific period of time or even permanently.

Elevation to noble rank falls into the second of these categories.

1. Elevation to Noble Rank

563 644 554 565 The Batwa, as we said earlier, are a caste despised by the Bahutu as well as by the Batutsi.

It is regarded as a dishonor not only to contract matrimonial unions with them, but also in making them commensal. There have been exceptions to this type of ostracism, however. In reviewing the past, one finds some Batwa who were raised to noble rank and placed on the same level as the Batutsi.

Others gained practical nobility in the course of time.

The best-known example is that of the Mutwa /singular of Batwa/ Busiete, to whom Yuhi III Gahindiro gave his own daughter Mulangamirwa in marriage as a reward for his devotion and services.

563 The descendants of this couple created the Basiete clan. They still
644 exercise great influence at court, and they possess numerous territories
554 (fees).
565 This event was not unprecedented, for the Hamitic kings, while maintaining the social distinctions with which we are already familiar, frequently made use of this device to reward highly deserving commoners.

This was the rule until quite recently.

Listed among the Bahutu who were admitted into the Batutsi caste and who contracted matrimonial alliances with them are the chief of the "cursers" (abahēnyi) clan, Agakwande, and the descendants of the great sorcerer Lunukamishyo. The latter form a closed clan known by the name of Abosha, and rank at court as sacrificer-diviners.

554 The keepers of the treasure (abanyabyuma), or abanyori, from
565 Mpanda village have likewise been raised to noble rank, and so ha /467/ Bunyereri, the commander of the "Invincible" (Intalindwa) army.

The same was done to a number of foreigners from the Uswi, Bunyabungu, and other adjacent regions.

Innumerable men in the king's service (abanyagikali, abanyanzoga, etc.) were raised by his favor to noble rank and granted
527 the government of some province or village. Prisoners of war who had earned the confidence of their conquerors also rose to the ranks of the Batutsi. Chief Lusera, who was carried off from the Nkole region at a very young age in the course of an expedition, was brought up by King Lwabugiri, who later gave him the village of Gitongati in the Nduga and his own daughter Kalungerwa in marriage.

The Badiga clan owes its nobility to a curious event in which
173 the Hamitic kings had no direct part.
558 The ancestor of this tribe, a man named Bidiga, was of the
563 Mutwa /Batwa/ race, and his parents, Sabulegeya and Rwiru, had come originally from the Bufundu province. They had moved to the village of Gahogo in the Nduga. Bidiga, their son, became a potter like his father. During a famine, on a day of torrential rain, a

241 soil when in dire circumstances are scorned by their fellow tribes-
558 men, and consequently they are absorbed into the mass of farmers who belong to another tribe.

231 The cow is the center of interest for the Batutsi. She domi-
576 nates one's whole life, both external and internal, his feelings and thoughts. She is the basis of all action, both conscious and spontaneous. For the Batutsi the cow is the most precious, beautiful, and beloved thing they own. For this reason she always is mentioned in compliments and polite phrases.

If you wish to extol a man's strength and handsomeness, you say to him: "uli mfizi (you are a bull)." With this designation, for example, Musinga's court honored His Highness, Duke Adolf Friedrich of Mecklenburg. The other members of the expedition, in accordance with their rank, were given the title "children of the great bull," which we Europeans certainly find less flattering. To a young man whom they wish to compliment on his handsomeness, they often say: "ufite amaso nki yi nyana (you have eyes like a calf)." For the same reason Europeans are often told that their beard is like a cow's tail, their hair like cow's hair, etc.

Not only the polite phrases of the Mututsi ["mu-," a prefix indicating singular in number] but his greeting as well is associated with the cow. He uses the word amasho, meaning "herd," which it seems, is an abbreviation of the phrase, "to you a herd." The reply is amasho ngore, "to you a female herd," or, in other words, "May you have cows that will give you calves." This greeting is common throughout Ruanda. I found it as far north as the Rutshuru. Beyond this river, on my way from Bugoye to the village of Rutshuru, I found that the people no longer responded to amasho.

576 Farewells are an exception. The Mututsi says: "Kumana (God be with you)."

Similarly, when they give thanks for a present, they say: "ulakarama, ulakahora n'Imana (live, meet Imana)."

In Mulera an older farewell seems to have been preserved which is said to occur in Nduga only in songs. The Mulera says: "Mahoro (peace be with you)." The returning traveler is greeted in a similar manner: "Waje mahoro (peace attends your coming)."

576 Finally, the person of higher rank always greets an inferior
●554 first to show the latter that he has been noticed and is granted this

516 attention. Also, in contrast to our forms of etiquette, it is cus-
●554 tomary for the one who pours a drink, be it milk, beer, or even water, always to drink first, even though he is usually of a [125] lower social rank than the one for whom the drink is poured. This custom is easily explained: the one who proffers the drink must prove that it is good, that is to say, not poisoned.

231 The Mututsi also shows his high regard for the cow in the
805 words for the time of day and the position of the sun. Early morning is expressed by inka zili munama, "the cows have been let out of the kraal." About eight o'clock in the morning is inka zahahutse, "the cows have gone to graze." At noon he says: "inka zishooka (the cows have gone to drink)." Inka zitaha, "the cows are returning," means that it is about six o'clock in the evening. Inka zikamwa, "the cows are being milked," means that it is between seven and eight in the evening.

231 The Batutsi use special terms to indicate the size of their
192 herds.

Mfite kanyana, "I have a calf," means a small herd of not more than 10 head.

Mfite akaka, "I have a small cow," means a herd of 30 to 60 head.

Mfite inka imwe or mfite inka, "I have a cow," means several herds.

[556] If you say of a person that he has many cows, you are using a general expression meaning he is very influential and rich.

231 All the Mututsi's interests are bound up with the cow. Once when Ishirangabo, the brother of the present king, who conducted Count Von Götzen through Ruanda, visited Father L. Classe and me, he said: "Kireka umwami, inka zihuta byose (the cow is more important than anything except the king)."

The hope of obtaining a cow from the king, the chief, or a well-to-do man makes the Mututsi a willing client, eager to please his chosen master.

The most insignificant man who puts himself at the service of someone a little more influential hopes not to be forgotten when, on occasion, his master is given a cow.

231 Even the great chiefs flatter the king in the hope of enlarging
556 their herds. On every occasion they repeat the time-honored phrase: "You can never have enough cows," which in our capitalistic society is tantamount to saying: "You can never have enough money."

576 If a man enters the service of another man, he introduces
231 himself quite simply with the phrase, "naje kukusaba amata," "I come to get milk," or "umpe amata, unkize," "give me milk, heal me."

[126] In polite discourse it is customary to address a person as a bestower of cattle or gratefully to remind him of a previous gift of a cow.

[534] If a man of higher social rank stumbles as he walks, his attendants say: "humura, wampaye inka (calm yourself, you who have given me a cow)." This may not be literally true, but it emphasizes the man's higher rank.

609 Among themselves the Batutsi speak of the Europeans as gituku, "the red ones." It is interesting to note that the Abyssinians call themselves "the red ones" in contrast to white Europeans and black Negroes whom they do not esteem very highly (1).

1. According to a verbal report by the Russian Embassy physician in Addis Ababa, Dr. A. Kochanowski.

In Ruanda the word bazungu refers to the colored retinue of Europeans, their servants and soldiers. Thus, when my donkey boy detoured around our camp which was on a hill and took a lower road, I was told: "muzungu aise epfo," meaning "muzungu passed by down below."

609 The Batutsi have absolutely no reason for welcoming
262 Europeans with warmth and enthusiasm. At the very least their
186 comfort is disturbed by the intruders. For this reason they sometimes make very unflattering remarks about them. The Europeans' chief offense is that they are not fastidious about their diet. In contrast to local custom, they eat everything; in fact, like the despised Batwa, they do not even scorn eggs and chickens, which the Mututsi finds disgusting. Thus, Europeans and their retinues are given the scornful epithets mpyesi, "hyenas," and bikoko or bisumba, "wild beasts."

412 have a sharp, chisel-like blade (igembe) which fans out at the cutting end. Its narrower part (intereri) fits into the hole (intoboro) at the thick end (impumo) of the handle (omuhini). The bush knife is entirely forged out of iron. The upper third is wide and has one sharp cutting edge (lulimi). The upper half (isatuliro) of this third is bent like a sickle and comes to a point. The remaining two thirds is round. The lower third is driven into a wooden [140] handle (kilindi) that is slightly thicker at the lower end and reinforced above with wire or smoothly forged iron.

313 372 As a result of the extensive deforestation, the lumber shortage is a very important economic problem. In some places wood must be brought in from long distances. In the northeast where wood is hard to come by, dried cow dung is used for fuel.

245 197 Under the influence of Catholic missions the natives have begun to plant trees. Moreover, outside the missions' sphere of influence I saw new plantings of mussavi in Ruangeri on the road to Kisenyi, four and a half hours from Ruasa.

231 Animal Husbandry. The inhabitants of Ruanda keep cows, goats, sheep, chickens, and dogs. Stockraising plays an important role in the economic and political life. Cattle farming is almost exclusively the [141] occupation of the ruling Batutsi. Sheep and especially goats are raised chiefly by the agricultural Bahutu. It is only in Mulera and Bugoye that the Bahutu commonly have cows. The animals are cared for by the men. Out in the pasture, however, one sometimes sees a girl tending a cow or a small herd of goats.

231 554 Cattle raising is considered the most distinguished occupation a man can have. This phenomenon is explained by the superior social position of the Batutsi. "In Uganda, where cattle raising is despised, it is almost impossible to persuade a Waganda [Ganda] to go into it." (1)

[113]

1. Wilson, C. T., and Felkin, R. W., Uganda und der Ägyptische Sudan [Uganda and the Egyptian Sudan] (Stuttgart, 1883), Vol. I, p. 67.

291 same type of clothing.

293 The Munyaruanda is familiar with the native umbrella. In its simplest form the improvised umbrella consists of a large banana leaf worn on the head. An actual umbrella is made of the bark of a banana tree stretched on a bowl-shaped frame. It is worn on the head and supported by the back (cf. Vol. III, Plate 23).

291 I saw sandals only near the lava plain in Rulenge (Bgisha). They are made of banana leaves and, like the shoes used in Europe for mountain climbing, have a sole made of flat braid. They wear out very easily on the rough earth, so that on a journey several pairs must be taken along. [174] The natives wear them only when the footing is positively dangerous, otherwise they go barefoot wherever possible. Dr. Kandt (1) mentions the use of

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 478.

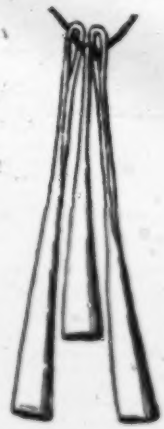
sandals among the Batundwe who, it seems, are a northern branch of the Bahunde and live near the southern shore of Lake Albert.

291 Ornaments. In Ruanda only the king wears a head covering;
301 he dons a cap on festive occasions. This cap is cylindrical, 20
554 centimeters high, and embroidered with beads. From it hang strings of beads ending in little embroidered rods. The strings are of two different lengths, so that there are two rows of little rods, one above the other, which form a beaded veil. There are no strings at the back or over the nose, but here there is an embroidered band hanging down below the root of the nose. On this band are three small embroidered rods that rest on the nose and extend to the mouth. A colobus [monkey] skin is fastened to the beaded band. This adjunct deserves special attention, since the priest of Wamara in Nkole adorns his head with a colobus skin, and the animal is the umuziru [prohibited object] of the Bahinda who rule the eastern and northern part of Ruanda.

291 I was not able to determine whether the wearing of the cap
554 by the ruler has any connection with the customs of the people in the Uele Basin where the cap is the privilege of the free man.

291 554 Otherwise head adornment in Ruanda consists merely of a strip of skin or a string of beads.

291 In the matter of head ornament there is one important difference between the Bahutu and the Batutsi, although it is not consistently carried out. The Batutsi push their headgear over the forehead to the eyebrows, whereas the Bahutu push it up to the hairline and down over the back of the head.



301 703

Besides head ornaments they wear numerous amulet containers of antelope horns, wild boars' tusks, etc. In Mulera one often sees, in addition, long, thin cone-shaped pendants of iron with eyelets at the tip by which they are suspended from the back of the headband. It is said that a man has the right to wear one of these ornaments for each enemy he has slain.

291 Fig. 62. Badges for Bravery, Mulera. (Approximately actual size.)

[531]

413 Fig. 63. Head Ornament Worn by Mother, Mulera. (1/4 actual size. L 14944. L 14944. 18 centimeters in diameter.)

Nursing mothers wear a head ornament known as lugori. It consists of a band three to four centimeters wide made of corn straw. The band ['75] is sewn together to form a crown. Decorations are sewn on the edge. In Maranga I also saw a Mutwa woman wearing a lugori of corn straw.

With the other ornaments we must also mention the comb (rusokozo), although in Ruanda, in contrast to the regions to the west, it is not worn in the hair but is used only to comb the hair.

413 531 322 Combs are carved from one piece of wood in Ruanda and have three to eight teeth. As a rule, the teeth form the base of a triangle, the point of which is a pierced knob. Sometimes the comb

301 The word for them, kassokodso, which we know from Dr. Kandt's research, sounds very much like the Momvu language in which kasso or kosse means "hair of the head." It is not impossible that we have here a trace of the Momvu who have been forced to move south by the Mangbetu of the Uele Basin. [176] Now, since the Mangbetu tribe of the Barumbi [Rumbi] has penetrated almost as far as Lake Edward, it is not improbable that a number of Momvu has been driven by them to the vicinity of Lake Kivu.

Dr. Kandt (1) also says of these regions: "Boars' teeth are

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 443.

also used as ornaments, usually for the head. They are either placed flat on the frontal part of the skull or on the middle of the head so that the thin, sharp part points up and forward. In Ujungu crescents were also worn, à la Diana. They consisted of two boar's teeth, the thick ends of which were hinged together with leather." I saw ornaments of this kind among the Bakondjo; however, they were worn on the chest.

301 In general, the personal adornment of the Banyaruanda is
●554 neither rich nor manifold. It is not differentiated according to social position. Here persons of higher rank do not wear show-pieces like the king's cap. Outside of Mulera personal adornment does not distinguish the brave man from the coward. There is a difference only in the amount of jewelry worn, for example, on the limbs of women and of the more privileged.

301 Actual body adornment consists of necklaces and bands.

The most common and popular neck ornaments are chains and glass beads strung on bast, if one disregards the numerous amulets which are worn chiefly by the Batutsi. Sometimes one or, less frequently, several cowrie shells are worn in front between the glass beads. One also sees necklaces made of the bones of goats and sheep. These are strung on bast and interspersed with only a few glass beads. Necklaces made of polished shell discs (kissanga) are rare. Sometimes the neckband is a strip of leather with an ivory pendant.

ceremonial trees. These were fenced in with straw and encircled with clay. The inner circle was neatly covered with grass. In front of the kambele is a podium ten meters wide, four meters deep, and one-half meter high. On it, to the right of the entrance, were cattle horns and a plant on which libations were made.

When he receives Europeans, Musinga is acutely aware of his lofty position. The king sits on a stool that is somewhat larger than those one sees in the natives' huts. Count Von Götzen (1) says that Kigeri sat on a chair embroidered with pink

1. Götzen, Count G. A. Von, Durch Afrika von Ost nach West [Through Africa from East to West] (Berlin, 1899), p. 178.

and white beads. Musinga's chair was devoid of this decoration. The king does not offer his guests a chair, and if one did not carry along his own chair, he would have to squat on the floor, like the king's lords. In this connection we must point out that in Ruanda the right to use a stool in public is linked with the idea of privileged position. This explains the polite phrase, "urakagira intebe (may you have a stool)."

The king is said to pass his evenings drinking beer. On these occasions legends are told about his illustrious ancestors.

The musicians are obliged to keep watch throughout the night. Taps, which are actually a very heavy drum beat, were never heard before two o'clock, [261] sometimes even later. The king is said to stay awake until this late hour. That is why ndamutsu, the heavy drumbeat that greets the king in the morning, never occurs until between eleven and twelve. Early in the morning, between four and five, the drums are also sounded, but only to show the king that the watch is on duty and that he can sleep peacefully. In the hut where he sleeps the king is said to keep an elephant tusk which always lies near his bed.

It is said that on his journeys a troop of Batwa carry the king in a small hut. This hut, kitabashwa, is supposedly kept in a

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

April. Tillage of fallow-land in preparation for potato planting next month. Planting of yams, gourds.

May and first half of June. Second tillage of sorghum fields. Beans were weeded. Potatoes were planted. Banana groves were cleared of grass. Cassava planted on hill-tops was gathered.

Long dry season

June, second part. Sweet potatoes and cassava planted in the bottom of valleys. Granaries were stocked.

July. Harvesting of beans, sorghum, maize.

August. Tillage of soil.

September. Tillage went on. At the end of the month there could be an early sowing of beans.[20]

In agricultural tasks, there was no specialization by sex. Men and women worked together in the fields. Although to a large extent the Hutu culture was permeated by the Tutsi scale of values, they did not share the noblemen's disdain for agricultural work. Their ideal type of successful man was that of a rich and hard-working peasant. They were proud of such a reputation when they achieved it, although they recognized that the status of a powerful Tutsi was much higher. But it belonged to another order practically closed to them. In a hierarchical society, certain ideal types may embody values that are for a lower stratum at the same time supreme but not sought after.

Cattle were never reared for their meat in Ruanda. The Tutsi and Hutu appreciated meat very much, but cattle were not usually slaughtered just to be eaten, except occasionally as when a barren cow was getting old. But the contribution of cattle to the diet was great: milk and butter were the food *par excellence* for Tutsi noblemen. The Hutu also liked dairy products very much, but a good supply of them required a larger number of cows than a Hutu would normally possess. Only cows feeding calves were milked. During the dry season their production was very low. In recent years, the average milk production was only from 1 to 1·5 litres a day (from about 1¾ pints to 2¾ pints) including that taken by the calf. Hides were formerly used for clothing purposes.

As may be expected in a society dominated by pastoralists, livestock was a major focus of interest in Ruanda culture. Its importance in the political structure—which will be considered

[20] See Schumacher, 1942 and Everaerts, 1947, pp. 61-69.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

sphere, there was the initiation of a member of the inzu into the Ryangombe sect. Ryangombe was supposed to have been during his life the chief of a small band of friends and clients. He was accidentally killed by a buffalo during a hunting party. Unwilling to leave Ryangombe, his friends threw themselves on the buffalo's horns. Imana gave them a special place, the Karisimbi, a former volcano, where they were believed to enjoy a notably more agreeable life than the other spirits. In order to have the privilege of joining them there and of enjoying their protection while living, Ruanda had to be initiated into Ryangombe's sect (to be initiated: *kubandwa*). This sect was not a permanent organization, in the sense that churches are. It was only for an initiation ceremony that people who were members of the candidate's inzu as well as members of the sect, came together. An initiator and the different people who were going to impersonate the imandwa (Ryangombe's friends) were chosen from the inzu concerned. The initiation ceremony took place in a hut, secretly (in the sense that non-initiates were not admitted, but not in the sense that affiliation to the sect was kept secret). It was an occasion for the gathering of the inzu as the great majority of its members, men and women, particularly among the Hutu, were initiated.

A second collective ritual was celebrated yearly in the inzu to honour the ancestor of the lineage (*guterekera*: to make an offering to a *muzimu*—a spirit). Presents were offered in the little hut dedicated to the ancestor's spirit in the lineage head's compound. They consisted of what the deceased person liked most in life (milk, hydromel, beans, &c.). This celebration lasted six days and six nights and took place after the sorghum harvesting, in July. There was a kind of ritual meal at the inzu head's compound in which every descendant of the ancestor participated (a cow, a goat, or beans were eaten according to the means of the people). This custom was more widespread among the Hutu than among the Tutsi, where, also, more restraint in eating, drinking, and feasting was observed.

Another collective activity of the inzu was the meeting of councils in which all the important members of the inzu sat. Sometimes all the adults joined, but it was certain that the opinions of only the old, wealthy, and politically powerful men would prevail. The questions discussed concerned proposals of

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

The members of a nuclear family lived in a compound called
594 by the same name, rugo. I have described earlier this complex dwelling place composed of intersecting circular enclosures. In
[592] the case of rich people, their clients during their time of service
[554] and their servants had huts in the compound.

The compound, surrounded by fields and banana-groves, and not far from pastures, was situated on that part of the paternal homestead given by the father to his son at the latter's wedding. If the father's homestead was not large enough to provide all his sons with areas to live on, the young couple either had to ask the political authority to allocate them a plot, or they had to rent one belonging either to a relative or an unrelated person.

595 The ideal type of residence of a polygynous family was a compound for each wife surrounded by its own cultivated area. These rugo could be on the same homestead or on several homesteads. The latter arrangement was more frequent with Tutsi than with Hutu. None of these compounds was more important than the others, except occasionally. The husband had no rugo regarded as being more his residence than the others.

Between these two sharply different types of family organization, there were intermediate kinds. If it happened that a Ruanda wanted a second wife, he looked for one even if he could not afford a second compound. She lived then in the same compound as the first wife, in a separate hut. But such an arrangement was regarded as unfortunate, and should be assimilated to that of a nuclear family notwithstanding the plurality of wives.

121 We will now consider whether and how these types of organization fulfilled the functions that might be expected of any type of family, for some of these functions seem to be fulfilled by all the family structures known, and the others by most of them. The points to be considered are: sexual gratification, economic cooperation, reproduction, socialization, and ritual.

(a) *Sexual relations*

581 The Ruanda distinguish the sexual from the procreational function of marriage. Neither the husband, nor apparently the wife, ever feared (except in very unhappy circumstances of poverty) that pregnancy might result from any particular act of
[842] intercourse; on the contrary such an event was usually longed for. As some informants said, why have relations with a sterile woman? Sexuality, however, had for them a value in itself.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

592 Economic co-operation was not limited to husband and wife. Their children, their relatives living with them, their clients, and servants participated in productive activities. Each compound was supposed to produce the necessary foodstuffs for its inhabitants. In polygynous families the husband sometimes made his wives work together in common fields, but this was not the socially approved pattern.

(*c*) *Procreational function*

181 When a Tutsi informant was asked what the people of his group wished for above all, the answer came immediately: 'Children and 554 cows'. A further question, 'Why?', disclosed that they were not regarded as ultimate values to be sought for themselves but that they were intermediate ones, the means to attain more important fundamental ends—power (*amaboko*) and reputation (*ugukomera*).

571 To be powerful is to be able to exert significant pressure upon somebody. In Ruanda society that meant, for a Tutsi, to be able to compel somebody to give him tribute in labour or in kind, and to induce assistance in support of his claims. To have many children 557 was almost indispensible for this purpose. Girls, by their marriages, 858 extended family connexions. Boys were sent while very young to the court of the king or of an important chief, and thereby reinforced their father's influence very considerably. He would be able to know from his son what was going on and the king or chief would be constantly reminded of the father by the son's presence, which was considered a great advantage for the father. The boy could also increase the influence of his family by becoming the client of a powerful Tutsi. By this means he obtained protection and cattle for himself and his patrilineage. Finally the matrimonial alliances of his sons could create new links between the father's kin group and his daughters-in-law's lineages. To sum up, from the point of view of power, the significance of children was to provide cattle and connexions. Cattle, as will be explained [556] later on in more detail, had very much the same function as money in our culture: to provide the man who owns it with means to exert pressure on those who do not have enough money of their own and thus need to get some in exchange for services. By connexions is meant here that type of relationship in which one [571] party may require something from another under the covert threat of a sanction.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

Independent of their being instruments of power, children enhanced the reputation of their fathers. The strength of a lineage and its vitality were highly valued in Ruanda. To have numerous offspring ensured that the group ancestors would be honoured, traditions maintained, and legends transmitted.

Ambition for power may be a very fitting pursuit for people who do not have to worry about fundamental human needs such as food, shelter, &c. For the Hutu, the ultimate value was security which was achieved by getting for oneself the protection of a member of the superior caste. To secure this protection, one had to become a client, and therefore to be able to supply a lord with services in labour and goods. Consequently, it was essential to produce a surplus and not only what was necessary for the subsistence of the people living in the compound. Surpluses could be obtained only by work, and children were very important in this respect. As in most peasant societies, they were useful when still quite young in helping their parents in their work. Moreover, as in the case of the Tutsi, offspring could bring supplementary protection and wealth to the compound by their ability to obtain cattle and connexions.

The preceding account might give the impression that for the Ruanda children were just means to their ultimate value of power, fame, security. This would be very misleading as they enjoyed having children simply because they liked children. This is not to question the genuineness of their affection for their offspring. I want only to stress here the social functions of children in this particular society.

Ruanda biological knowledge of the processes of procreation was extensive. They knew that a single ejaculation could produce pregnancy, that there is a relation between menstruation and fertility, that conception is not prevented during the suckling period, &c. According to their theories, the man's participation in conception was more important than the woman's. The analogy with the sowing of seeds in a field is commonly used by informants. It was pointed out to me that if it is indeed necessary for the seed to be buried in the soil, strength and vitality are unquestionably in the seed rather than in the passive ground.[10]

This last theory is important in that it gives a biological basis to the patrilineage principle of descent and to the difference between

[10] Cf. Lestrade, 1935, pp. 85-86.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

probably a little less than a third. For tribute labour, the hill-chief handed over to the residence the number of labourers requested but could have the others to work for himself.

According to respectively 92 and 91 per cent. of the Tutsi interviewed, neither the hill-chief nor the cattle-chief could deduct similar proportions from cattle dues. I have been told, however, that the cattle-chief required from the hill-chief more jars than the royal residence asked. It is very likely that the hill-chief imposed a similar obligation on those who had to bring the milk.

The land-chief acted as judge in disputes about rights over land between Hutu of his district.

Some places were not integrated into the district organization and were free from the cattle- and land-chief interferences. They were the domains belonging to *biru* and the royal funeral grounds. Biru, as we shall see later, were very important people keeping the secret traditions according to which the order of succession of the kings was determined, the ritual to be used in wars, the measures to be taken in times of famine, &c. In their privileged domains biru enjoyed powers similar to those of the king over Ruanda. 76 per cent. of our informants mention the name of a hill ruled by one mwiru (singular of biru) and 79 per cent. affirm that these domains were completely independent of the administrative chiefs.

The other privileged hills were those on which the royal corpses were laid. As the dead body of the king was believed to undergo different metamorphoses, it was not immediately buried, but mummified and left for a certain time in a wood, on the top of a hill. The corpse was watched by some chiefs and servants and finally buried. Even now 88 per cent. of our informants can mention the name of such a hill where a royal cemetery is to be found. One of the more renowned places is Rutare, not far from Kigali, which is mentioned by 71 per cent. 84 per cent. said that these hills were exempted from any tribute to the district residence.

3. ANALYSIS OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

Analysis of the different structures described here will be made from the point of view of the social function of these institutions. Social function is understood here as the contribution made by an institution, an association or a cultural trait to the working and the maintenance of a particular social structure. The contribution may

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

It is still less easy to assess the relative importance of land and cattle taxes. Informants say that in the past they had to give a great deal, but such recollections of taxpayers do not mean very much. It is certain that if such a fiscal system has been maintained for numerous generations, exploitation has been kept within bearable limits. In Ruanda, as elsewhere, if the taxpayer is overburdened with dues and levies to such a point that he has not enough time and food left to go on producing, the source of impositions will dry up. Fifty years ago, after long practice, the Ruanda rulers had been able, it seems, by trial and error, to determine the exact amount of exploitation that the country could support. Yet if the group of taxpayers as such were not overexploited, it is certain that some individuals in the group have been very heavily taxed merely because those who had the power to impose taxes wanted to avenge a particular offence.

The taxpaying group was not restricted to the Hutu stratum since some tributes were due on cattle holdings. Agricultural dues and tribute labour however, were entirely provided by Hutu and as they constituted about ninety per cent. of the population, the total amount of their contribution was considerably higher than that of other groups.

Those who received benefit from this system were, first of all, the king and his spouses. They did not have to come and live in a district residence to have the use of the produce collected in that district. Goods were sent to the court or wherever the king wanted them. Other beneficiaries were the chiefs in charge of the collection: land-, cattle-, and hill-chiefs. About two-thirds of the impositions on agricultural produce was deducted by them. Were they all Tutsi? No, answered the Tutsi interviewed. According to ninety-two per cent. of them a Hutu could be appointed land-chief. But he could not become a cattle-chief, according to ninety-one per cent. This is quite understandable, as the first had to deal with Hutu and the second with Tutsi. But were many Hutu in fact endowed with the profitable responsibilities of the land-chief or the hill-chief? 258 informants (eighty-six per cent.) were able to give the names of Hutu land-chiefs, but they mentioned only thirty-four different names. A Hutu land-chief, Ndarwubatse, was mentioned 180 times, another, Kanyonyomba, 109 times, and another, Segore, ninety-seven times. As our informants were scattered throughout Ruanda it is very probable that the cases of

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

554 622 184 Ndarwubatse, Kanyonyomba, and Segore were exceptional and that, in fact, Hutu were not very numerous among land-chiefs. The share of Hutu in political power was probably symbolic rather than quantitatively great. Hutu could also be hill-chiefs and sixty-nine per cent. of our informants were able to mention a few names. According to ninety-nine per cent. a Twa could be neither land-chief nor cattle-chief, unless he were ennobled. But in that case, he was not socially a Twa any more, but assimilated to a Tutsi. Twa could be hill-chiefs; sixty-five per cent. of our Tutsi informants mentioned the names of such Twa. Neighbourhood heads were frequently Hutu, but the advantages they drew from their office were minimal, if any.

(*b*) *Maintenance of the central rulers in power*

661 One may conclude that the very great majority of the beneficiaries of the fiscal function of the administrative structure were people of the Tutsi group.

661 634 647 622 A second function of the administrative structure was to enable those who enjoyed political power to keep it. The mwami and his wives centralized the means necessary to afford an important court. Moreover, by granting the profitable offices of land-, cattle-, and hill-chiefs, the mwami increased the number of his faithful dependents. For these chiefs of the administrative structure were appointed by the king. To the question 'who appointed the land- and the cattle-chiefs?' ten different answers were given, but if one adds up all the answers which named the mwami as the person or one of the persons who granted these official appointments, a majority of sixty-five is reached. The confusion in the answers seems due to the fact that different principles operated together in the nomination of such a chief. Firstly, one of the sons of the former office holder usually succeeded to his father, and the latter could often indicate his preferences, but this did not mean that the office was hereditary. Merely, it happened fairly frequently that the mwami liked to strengthen a man's loyalty on the understanding that if he was a good chief, the office could remain in his family. Secondly, the appointment could be made by the mwami following presentation of the candidate by an important chief, such as the army-chief. Consequently, it could appear that the latter was the one who gave the appointment. But the third principle remained: the king kept a complete control of these offices in the sense

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

The emphasis put on the social prestige bestowed by cattle ownership has sometimes led to the underestimation of a second meaning of their possession. Effective disposal of cattle was the main institutionalized means of achieving power. It certainly enables a person to secure labour and agricultural produce through the clientage structure. And at the present time, the disposal of cows gives more advantages than could be obtained by their counterpart in money.

Consequently, the redistribution of cattle operated through the army was extremely important and had much wider social implications than the dues paid in commodities.

Here, again, the mwami was the main beneficiary of the bovine tributes concentrated through the army. On his accession he received one cow as a recognition gift from every lineage, and a certain proportion of the cows presented at the numbering; after a successful campaign, the 'bow of the army' (cattle seized upon by the *abakoni*) was his. The king usually kept only the bare ownership of that cattle and granted its usufruct to important chiefs who then became his clients.

The army-chief was also much favoured in army cattle dues. He received a recognition gift on entering his office, a part from the herds presented and numbered, a certain proportion of the private booty of the warriors, rewards extended by the king after a victorious expedition, and gifts offered by army members. He had the effective disposal of these cows as long as he was in charge, that is to say, up to his death if he was not dismissed. He thus controlled a considerable amount of cattle, symbols of prestige and instruments of power. He could build up a wide clientage among army herdsmen as it was particularly among them that he chose his clients. But he could also grant his cows to non-army members (*inkomamashyi*), who then became army members.

In what measure was the ordinary army member affected by cattle? Firstly, whether warrior or herdsman, he was deprived of some of his own cows by the different payments to the king and the army-chief. Secondly, a member of the herdsmen's section could receive some cows as a client of the army-chief. Was it a real advantage? The question may be raised as the herdsman had to give cows to the chief. Obviously, there was an advantage only if he received the usufruct of more cows than he had given. This means that only a certain number of army members were very likely to

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

relationship which should be enjoyed by both parties according to the classical definition of contract.

A third way in which *buhake* was different from the Western conception of contract lay in the vagueness and uncertainty in the measure of the reciprocal obligations. The patron could be more or less generous in the number of cows he granted, more or less exacting in the services he required; the client could be more or less prompt and zealous in his service. If there was a dispute about these differences in the execution of the agreement, there was no charter one could refer to for an assessment of rights and duties.

(*b*) *Caste structure*

To understand the functions of the feudal system in Ruanda society, one must first clarify some important features of that society.

As our descriptions and analysis of Ruanda proceed, it becomes more and more certain that there was there a caste structure or something very similar to it. Sociologists usually define a caste society as one composed of several graded groups, each of which is endogamous and practising an hereditary occupation, membership of which can be obtained only by birth.[7]

Birth was, indeed, the usual way in which one became a Tutsi, a Hutu or a Twa. This does not mean that the three strata were 'racial' units, but that an individual was a Tutsi, a Hutu or a Twa when his father was a Tutsi, a Hutu or a Twa. In the same way was his father a Tutsi, a Hutu or a Twa. But in order to avoid such expressions, which could go on *ad infinitum*, a definition other than an hereditary one should be found. But it does not seem that there is any other than that a Tutsi, a Hutu or a Twa is a person who regarded himself, and was regarded by all those who knew him, as a Tutsi, a Hutu or a Twa, the usual way for a person to fulfil this social definition being to realize the hereditary one. In some cases, however, it was possible to be socially recognized as a Tutsi without having been begotten by a Tutsi father. For instance a Twa who had been ennobled or the son of a rich Hutu cattle owner and of a Tutsi woman, was sometimes regarded as a Tutsi. But these were exceptional cases and we may say that the caste criterion of membership by birth held in general for all the three Ruanda groups.

The same may be said of the criterion of endogamy. We saw

[7] Cf. Lowie, 1948, pp. 10, 273.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

possible that when Tutsi first came into the country, the difference was greater than at the beginning of this century. It was not, however, to be compared with the difference existing, for instance, between the material culture of the Europeans in Central Africa and of the Africans during the nineteenth century and at the present time. A large and complex material culture is one of the most important factors not only in conquest but also in the maintenance of a dominant group's superiority. Motor vehicles, dwellings in permanent materials, electric power, European kinds of food are so fundamentally different from the traditional Central African means of transportation and habitat that it is easy for those who have the almost exclusive use of them to maintain high prestige and great power.

Except for cattle, Tutsi material equipment did not allow them to impress on Hutu minds, to a comparable extent, the idea of their superiority. Certainly they had more spacious compounds, they were better dressed than the Hutu, they drank better beer, and when travelling, instead of walking, they were frequently carried on a litter by Hutu or Twa servants. All these differences, important as they were, were only, however, differences of quantity and degree, characterizing two strata which had not the same access to the good things of life, rather than essential differences. By 'essential' is meant here that the Tutsi equipment did not include elements such as steam-machines, electricity or gun-power, which, when possessed exclusively by a group, are sufficient to secure an easy domination. Tutsi power did not rest on a superiority in material culture.

Another relevant background factor was the ratio between Tutsi and Hutu. As was previously stated, it is not possible to know that ratio very accurately. It is very likely, however, that it was never greater than ten or fifteen per cent. This fact was extremely important, because an economic exploitation of land tillers for the benefit of cattle-raisers would have been impossible if the Tutsi had numbered much more than this percentage of the total population. If, for instance, the Tutsi had constituted fifty per cent. of the population, the Hutu would not have been able to provide them with the foodstuffs and labour necessary to comfortable subsistence. Oberg makes similar comments on the ratio between pastoralists and agriculturalists in Ankole.[1]

[1] Oberg, 1940, p. 126.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

One may wonder whether this demographic factor appeared to the Tutsi as a purely natural fact completely beyond their control, or whether they tried to maintain that fortunate proportion. We know that they made it difficult for a Hutu to enter their caste, but it does not seem that they favoured a restriction in the number of their group and an increase in the Hutu group. They shared with the Hutu a very high valuation of fertility and appreciated families with numerous offspring. It should not be forgotten that if a decrease in population would have contributed towards giving each member of the Tutsi caste a greater share in the wealth of the group in an imperceptible degree, for the individual, to have many children was a way to obtain also a greater share of wealth in a very perceptible manner. I suspect that the latter consideration was much clearer than the former for any Tutsi. It is also questionable if the bringing about of the first situation would have been psychologically compatible with the attitude of self-assertion of a domineering caste of warriors. At all events the demographic situation of Ruanda has been a factor favouring, even making possible, the economic exploitation of a majority by a minority.

A third factor which made the second so crucial was the type of economy of the country. Because of the relatively poor soil, the irregularity of the rains, and the methods of cultivation, there was not a very considerable surplus. Having to subsist on a very limited national income, the rulers had to cope with an economic problem in the fundamental meaning of the term—that is, they had to organize a way of life with means insufficient to meet needs. This emphasized the capital importance of compulsory labour and tributes, of regular and efficient collection, and of an apportionment of levies which did not let any prospective taxpayer escape.

A limited character of national resources is certainly a circumstance adverse to the centralization of a government. Indeed, a very centralized government needs a complex machinery: agencies, army, messengers, civil servants, local delegates, &c. Such an organization had been built up in Ruanda in spite of the small economic surplus.

A biological element also has been significant in the establishment and maintenance of Tutsi power in Ruanda. This was the difference in physical appearance between Tutsi and Hutu. Whatever may be the objectivity of physical caste characteristics,

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

it is certain that there were (and still are) Tutsi and Hutu physical stereotypes socially recognized. Such characteristics regarded as significant were, for the Tutsi, to be slender, tall, and light skinned; for the Hutu, to be short and stout with coarse features. To conform to one of these types was not sufficient to make of a man a Tutsi or a Hutu. Indeed there were some Tutsi and Hutu who did not possess the physical characteristics of their caste.

Sociological and psychological studies devoted to racial problems, and particularly to anti-semitism, have stressed the importance of the physical stereotypes of groups. It is immaterial whether the stereotypes are verified in the majority of cases, or only quite rarely. What *is* important is that they provide a basis on which many moral, psychological, and occupational characteristics are crystallized and form a simple picture. This picture, haunting the imagination of those it is supposed to represent as well as of the others, makes everyone extremely conscious of his group participation and of the differences that separate his group from the others.

The fact that a group is characterized by a physical type differentiating it from the others is a factor which may act both ways from the standpoint of social and political power. A minority endowed with a stereotyped physical appearance will have a very great social visibility. If that minority is at the bottom of the hierarchy, its members are constantly despised, and develop attitudes characteristic of those who are looked down on by those with whom they have to live. Consequently, they are hopelessly confined to their group and enjoy almost no opportunity to increase their power. This was the case of the Twa. Their physical stereotype stressed all the features which could be interpreted as ape-like.

If, on the contrary, that physically stereotyped minority is at the top of the power structure, it avails itself of its appearance, regarded as 'beautiful', to support its claims to an innate superiority. Consequently, it is an asset to its power.

Tutsi have been able to use the three different stereotypes of the physical characteristics of the Ruanda castes as a confirmation of their superiority: they have convinced all Ruanda that to be slender and light skinned is much better than to be stout and dark (this was even aesthetically translated in the patterns used in the ornamentations of baskets: they manifested a preference for elongated slim forms). They used the stereotypes also as a proof

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

of their different nature which entitled them to rule and as a guarantee against social mobility: because a Hutu was usually not endowed with the Tutsi physical characteristics he could not easily pass the line.

Two other important elements related to the political power system of Ruanda were its extent and its orographic configuration. The country was not very large, about 100 miles from north to south and 140 from west to east. But its relief was that of a maze of hills, many of them very steep, separated by deep valleys. Moreover, it was traversed, from north to south, by a chain of mountains which separate the Congo and Nile basins and is covered with very dense forests inhabited by elephants, leopards, and buffalo.

A centralized government requires good communications. The king must remain, as much as possible, in constant contact with all the regions of his country; tribute must reach the capital regularly, armies must arrive rapidly in any place threatened by an external enemy; local authorities must not be left isolated lest they become too independent. The small extent of Ruanda was indeed an asset from this point of view but this was largely neutralized by the relief which made communications extremely difficult. Notwithstanding these unfavourable physical factors, the mwami had been able to establish and maintain his political network connecting all the subordinate authorities of Ruanda to himself.

These five elements are among those which more significantly affected the domination system of the Tutsi. They are the only ones. Three of them refer to the social power of the Tutsi caste (type of material culture, Tutsi-Hutu ratio, physical appearance), while two others (economy with a small surplus, area, and relief) were operative rather in the sphere of political power. Only two of these background facts (demographic ratio and physical type) were favourable to the domination pattern whereas one (absence of a different material equipment apart from cattle) was neutral and two (lack of a great surplus, geographic configuration) were obstacles.

2. THE SOCIOLOGICAL PROBLEM OF DOMINATION

Within the limits set by these conditions external to the social system, Tutsi had to adapt their organization in order to keep the dominant position for their caste and its rulers. Their problem

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

was: how to monopolize social and political power to their benefit without preventing a Ruanda society from existing and functioning as a unity? How to realize an equilibrium between the necessities of any social life and the necessities of a permanent dominion of a group? This fundamental problem may be analysed into three antinomies: maintaining a caste society and promoting the cohesion of the society as a whole; exploiting and protecting the lower stratum; delegating powers to subordinate authorities and establishing a centralized and absolute government. How were these antinomies solved?

(a) Caste society and social cohesion

In order that the members of a dominant and hereditary group may keep their privileges, it is necessary that what gives prestige remains exclusively under their control. We have seen that in Ruanda the basis of social power and prestige lay in the effective disposal of cattle. As indicated earlier, the feudal system permitted the Tutsi to keep complete control of all Ruanda cattle, as the whole of a client's cattle was always liable to be confiscated by the lord under any pretence. Moreover, outside the *buhako* structure, the king kept the pre-eminent right over all Ruanda cattle. Even if he did not use frequently his rights against Hutu, they were not forgotten: the very cows which were not received from a lord but acquired by one's own efforts and over which the possessor had usufruct plus bare ownership, were called 'king's cows' (*inka z'umwami*) as often as *imbata*.

Usually, an upper caste shows its superiority by, among other things, its leisure and pleasant life. It has to enjoy a greater share of the good things of life than the commoners and it has to get this apparently without effort, rather as a right than as a reward for specific tasks. It was again the *buhake* which made it possible for the Tutsi caste to enjoy 'gracious living' becoming to its high social status. The man in control of a few head of cattle could, through the clientage institution, live without having to participate in the manual work of the production processes.

A third requirement for the maintenance of a caste identity is the preservation of the group's *esprit de corps* and traditions and their handing on by one generation to the next one. This was done in the kinship groups mainly by the grandparents, particularly by the paternal grandfather. There, lineage values and particular

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

traditions were transmitted. But a multiplicity of kinship group agents cannot be entrusted with a function as important for the caste as the socialization of its young members and their training in the qualities and virtues which had permitted their forbears to obtain power. Consequently, in Ruanda some formal institutes of education and instruction were set up. The *intore* companies in which every young man of the Tutsi caste spent several years, fulfilled these functions.

In order to avoid the dogma of the innate superiority of the upper layer being questioned if one of its members had to be cast out because he was unable to live up to the standards of his group, the clientage system acted as an institutionalized means of rescuing such people. It should be mentioned that the rescuer was not losing anything, as the Tutsi saved from social death could give him in return what was mainly expected from any Tutsi client: his attendance and his councils.

The tendency which leads a powerful group to constitute a closed caste, to maintain jealously its advantages, and to try to increase them, cannot be left without something to counterbalance it. Each caste, as Linton says, is a society in itself.[2] If the caste accentuates too much the characterististics which make it a socially complete group, isolated in the society of which it is only one layer, the cohesion of that society may be destroyed. Consequently, powerful factors of cohesion are needed to check the tendency towards social disintegration that exists within any caste structure. I have described solidarity factors already, but they may be summarized here.

First, there are certain groupings in which Tutsi and Hutu were to be found together. Names of the Tutsi and Hutu clans were similar. This suggested a certain solidarity among the bearers of the same clan name, however minimal it was. A comparable kind of Hutu participation existed in the armies. It is possible that the fact of having been commonly associated in dangerous circumstances gave a deeper feeling of unity to Hutu and Tutsi. The Ryangombe sect was open to Hutu and Twa as well as to Tutsi. Ryangombe himself is said to have addressed his invitation to join to every Ruanda, explicitly calling the Tutsi, the Hutu, the Twa, the men and the women.[3] As initiation ritual took place among kinsmen, however, there was no real inter-caste mingling in the

[2] Cf. Linton, 1936, pp. 130 f. [3] De Lacger, 1939, vol. I, p. 257.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

ceremonies. We may say that clan, army, and sect were 'national' only nominally and superficially. Notwithstanding, these associations between Hutu and Tutsi had probably some limited significance from the standpoint of social cohesion.

In that connexion, *buhake* is a much more important factor. By that agreement, almost any Hutu was linked to a Tutsi, and partook in the social power of the upper caste by identifying himself with a protector who was a member of the dominant group. He obtained for his disposal some cattle, the symbol of artistic values, and he entered into exchange relationships with the nobility. Through the clientage institution, Ruanda constituted a unified economic system which distributed agricultural and pastoral products among the totality of the population. The personal bond with a privileged caste member and access to possession, however precarious, of cattle, seem to have been essential from the point of view of national solidarity.

A third integrative factor was social mobility, even as limited as it was in Ruanda. It is certain that the number of Hutu and Twa assimilated to Tutsi because of their holding of political offices or because of their wealth, has always been tiny.

The possibility of being accepted into the superior group even if it is illusory for almost all the members of the inferior group has had in many societies a very great integrative influence. It is well known that in the United States, during the first quarter of this century, the fact that a few men among the wealthiest of the country had been born poor, greatly contributed to the psychological solace of a considerable mass of men and women who had personally no opportunity to achieve such brilliant successes. In addition to individual comfort, the belief that there was no intrinsically insuperable obstacle (such as having been born outside a closed hereditary group) helped Americans to feel that they were all members of the same nation regarded as not significantly stratified.

I do not imply that the social ascent of a few Hutu has played a similar part in Ruanda. Firstly, there was no egalitarian ideology which makes almost unbearable the fact that one is obliged by birth to live in an inferior social group; secondly, cases of inter-caste mobility were extremely rare in Ruanda. Nevertheless, these cases were a proof for Hutu that, although not belonging to the upper stratum, they were members of the Ruanda nation as well as Tutsi. They did not feel that they were out-group people.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

Tutsi hands. From that point of view, we have to distinguish here two categories. In the first, we put the mwami, the court, the intermediary military and administrative chiefs, whom we call the rulers; in the second, the ordinary Tutsi. The rulers received tributes and labour through the military and administrative channels; the second got fewer consumption goods directly, but mainly labour by the *buhake*. Thus the satisfaction of the needs of the superior caste was not obtained by economic means but by social pressure.

Were these services in labour and in kind heavy for the Hutu caste? It seems that it was not a too painful obligation for about nine-tenths of the population to secure the whole of the agricultural produce of the country. But we should not forget that it was an economy based on rudimentary techniques and which did not yield a considerable surplus. Moreover, the standard of life of the dominant group was much higher than that of the inferior castes; one may thus safely assume that Tutsi consumed much more than a tenth of the total production. Such an assessment is not very precise but it does not seem possible to obtain a more accurate one.

What is certain is that the social power enjoyed collectively by the Tutsi caste was so great that it must have been a permanent temptation for them to increase their demands on the Hutu group. Such a situation was indeed at the same time both advantageous and dangerous as it carried in itself the seeds of its own destruction. For if the measures of the impositions were exceeded (and the technological and environmental circumstances made the margin very narrow), the subordinate group would be weakened and its productivity would diminish. Eventually, it might be led to leave the territory. To prevent such detrimental occurrences was all the more difficult as each Tutsi was endowed with so much individual social power that he might be inclined to misuse it.

How did the Tutsi deal with this threat? Firstly, by a universal distribution of the levies obtained through the military and administrative structures. Every familial unit of production was obliged to contribute—certainly not equally, but the mere fact of having universal impositions tended to prevent very considerable differences, because a sufficient return was secured and rules were established. These rules were not as fixed and publicized as the fiscal laws in a Western society, yet the mere fact of their existence

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

made for certain guarantees. For the *buhake* services, what each client had to give or do was less clearly determined and depended more on the *shebuja*'s wishes. There were also in that sphere, however, some traditionally admitted limits.

Universality and regulation of dues as such do not prevent the exactions committed by socially powerful individuals and those who required payment of taxes were powerful. Another more efficient obstacle to an exaggerated exploitation was the fact that the political and clientage structures gave to any individual of ability the opportunity to secure for himself a defender and a protector. This opportunity resulted from the plural character of the Ruanda hierarchy.

When one belongs to a single structure, there is only one immediate superior. Consequently, everything must be obtained from him and is owed to him. In a plural system, there are several immediate superiors of approximately equal rank and who are not interdependent. Consequently, it is possible to have the support of one chief (or his complicity even) when resisting another.

This is what happened in Ruanda. An example will show how the plurality of chiefs could be used. Suppose a Hutu had inherited cattle granted by a lord to his grandfather who had also received cows from his army-chief, and who had acquired other cattle by exchange of goods (*imbata*), and because his present lord was too exacting, our Hutu wanted to change and become the client of another important man. He knew that his lord would try to seize all his *imbata* and to choose the best cows among his other cattle. By some gifts, he obtained the support of his army-chief. Before entering into discussion with his lord, he and his army-chief had agreed that all the best cows he had at his disposal and all his *imbata* would be said to have been received from the military chief. They were removed and put on grazing grounds directly protected by the army-chief. Then when the lord claimed more cows than his client wanted to return to him, he had to settle the matter not with a man of very limited power but with the army-chief.

Of course this required clever handling of the situation, but when it succeeded it secured efficient protection against extortion.

It should be added that the recourse of a subject to a higher authority within the same hierarchy was approved and even encouraged in Ruanda. This was another means of putting a check on the exorbitant demands of immediate superiors. This, however,

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundl FO42

different share in social power and fundamentally different rights.

The Ruanda principle of inequality could be expressed in the following terms: people born in different castes are unequal in inborn endowment, physical as well as psychological and have consequently fundamentally different rights.

That premise, closely connected with the caste structure, is suggested by the analysis of the political and feudal structures. Indeed, when a principle of inequality exists in a society with respect to a certain type of relations, it does not fail to spread to other relations more or less similar. In Ruanda, the inegalitarian premise of inter-caste relations has permeated the intricate relations which could be regarded as analogous in certain respects. A Tutsi who was lord over another Tutsi was thought to be superior over his client in a way comparable to the manner in which he was superior over his Hutu clients. Of course significant differences remained between inter- and intra-caste relationships of superiority, but the latter tended to be patterned on the former ones.

The extension to intricate relations of the premise of inter-caste inequality made it a principle of integration with a very wide bearing as it could, and did, in fact, pervade all the human relations in which a superiority of one actor over the other was implied. It could be the relation between a mother and her young child, a father and his son, a man and his wife, an old man and a youngster, a craftsman and an apprentice, &c. These relations constituting the texture of social life, the impact on collective living of the premise of fundamental inequality, cannot be over-estimated.

4. THE THEOREMS

In order to understand better how the inequality premise influenced the whole of Ruanda social life, the different aspects of that influence must be made explicit. They will be expressed as a set of theorems, by which is meant general propositions or statements which are not self-evident.

Theorem One

When two persons are involved in any kind of social relation, it is their mutual hierarchical situation which is regarded as the most relevant element of the relation.

Superiority and inferiority were *foci* of the Ruanda social structure to such an extent that as soon as they entered as a

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

571 156 554 component in the content of a social intercourse, other components were regarded as less important and were coloured by the hierarchical situation of the two actors. In Euro-American culture, relationships of inferiority are defined not only as regards the people taking part in them but also as regards the matters concerned. A business executive may give orders to one of his employees only within very well-defined limits of competence and time, but he cannot oblige him to accept his views on for instance artistic or political questions. In Ruanda, on the contrary, when one of the persons involved in a dyad was superior to the other from a certain point of view, the superiority was diffused, as it were, through the whole relation. For his subject, a chief was always a chief in whatever matter.

This first theorem is a consequence of inequality conceived as essential. When two persons are considered unequal by nature, the [829] superiority of one over the other cannot be limited to a certain sphere. Obedience in everything must be required: there is no field in which a father could be wrong and his son right.

Theorem Two

As in almost any human relation there is some superiority of one actor over the other, as that aspect is always stressed and as inferiority relations are patterned on inter-caste relations, paternalistic, and dependent attitudes were to be found in almost every human relation in Ruanda.

The only exceptions were relations between people who were equal from any point of view, as for instance young men of about the same age, belonging to the same caste and whose families were about at the same level of wealth.

This is very noticeable today, even in relations with Europeans. A clerk usually assumes towards the European he assists, a dependent attitude different from the behaviour of a European employee. The clerk expects from his employer a behaviour similar to the paternalistic attitude of the Ruanda superiors and he is puzzled and disappointed if the employer does not assume such an attitude.

Theorem Three

There is no private sector in the life of the inferior *vis-à-vis* his superior. The superior has the right to control the whole of his

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

subordinate's activities. This is not resented by the inferior as unbearable meddling. On the contrary, it is expected by the inferior who feels that such interference is a proof of the interest his superior extends to him. When a European employer avoids intruding into the privacy of a Ruanda subordinate, the latter not infrequently tends to interpret it as a withdrawal from the protective role expected from any superior.

If a subordinate were to refuse his Ruanda superior's interference on the grounds that he should not be concerned with his private affairs, such a pretension would be regarded as at least a definite lack of respect.

Theorem Four

Strictly contractual relations are not possible. To enter into a contract implies that the intended parties are previously independent of one another. If one is submitted to the other for the whole of his life, how could he freely commit himself to give the other certain services? And how could the other promise to secure his inferior a counterpart that the latter can legally claim? When entering into contractual relations, it is necessary that each prospective partner should be a person independent of and equal to the other in that context. In the Western world, admittedly, it frequently happens that an agreement which verifies the juridical forms of a contract is entered into by persons who are not independent and equal. Circumstances may exert such a pressure that freedom to accept or refuse a particular obligation is purely illusory. Conditions of independence and equality, however, are often realised. In ancient Ruanda such a situation could almost never have happened as it was rare for two persons who might otherwise be related by a contract, not to be already involved in paternalistic and dependent relations.

Moreover, after the contract has been concluded it is necessary that each partner should be able to defend himself against any demand of the other which would exceed the terms of the covenant, and that he should have the means to oblige the other to fulfil what the latter has agreed to give or to do. This implies again that one part is not completely dependent on the other. Now, as I mentioned earlier, the extent of the superior's obligations is left, in Ruanda, to his will and pleasure. Consequently, it was unthinkable for the party who was at the same time in a position

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

inferior to the other to claim some particular fulfilment of the agreed promises from the other.

This appears clearly in the difficulties Ruanda often meet when they have to adjust themselves to European labour contracts. They are sometimes confused by the fact that the employer requires from them at the same time less and more than they expect. Less because the employer does not ask for more services, for longer office hours for instance, than what has been stipulated, and more because he is very exacting in the execution of what has been undertaken, for instance in matters of punctuality.

Theorem Five

With such socially accepted conceptions about inequality, those who occupy the superior positions in most of the social relations in which they are involved, tend to develop a permanent authoritarian behaviour. This is characterized by a propensity to command, to be self-assertive, arrogant, protective, and compassionate.

Chiefs, rulers, and other superiors try to extend not only the size or range of their power (the number of people controlled) but its density (the degree of control of the subordinates).[7] Any independence manifested by the inferior will be resented as rebellious.

This leads to intolerance. The superior's opinions should never be opposed by the inferior who is always and everywhere expected to manifest his dependence by attitudes of compliance. Even today this conduct tends to prevail. Some years ago a Ruanda deliberative assembly of people of standing was asked its opinion on a contemplated reform. After the most important person present there had given his opinion, everybody voted for his proposal. But after the meeting many expressed privately their divergent opinions. At the time of the vote, they had considered it improper and impolite not to agree with the superior.

Theorem Six

Even if the caste system and political and feudal institutions have succeeded to a large extent in moulding personalities in such a way as to make inferiors self-effacing, submissive, compliant, and dependent, the conditioning has not been perfect. Often the inferior wants to disagree with his superior's opinions, to avoid executing an order or obeying his commands. A straight refusal

[7] Cf. Russell, 1938, pp. 165 *f.*

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

being regarded as insulting, disrespect or revolt, the only way out for the inferior is to appear to behave always as expected: to fall in with any desire of his superior while concealing his own opinion, never to say no to any order but to find clever excuses for not doing it. Consequently dissimulation is very highly thought of and a skill necessary to master for someone wanting to live more or less securely under such a political régime.

Many stories and proverbs give evidence of the frequency of covert disobedience to the rulers and of the appreciation in which an astute excuse and a 'good lie' were held. This was the only way to adapt oneself to such a situation.

Theorem Seven

It is commonly accepted in the Western tradition that truth has a high value and that language is the medium used to express 'truth', that is to say, 'what reality appears to be to the person who speaks'. Undoubtedly, in Western practice, language is used, even in the cognitive sphere, for many other purposes than to express what the speaker thinks. Moreover, most of the scholars who, in recent years, have studied the problem of the origin and function of language, bring qualifications to the traditional view. In the almost unanimous opinion of the carriers of Western culture, however, the ideal verbal behaviour must express 'truth' and not what is useful to the speaker. This is, for example, what is inculcated into children in schools.

In a society in which human relations are imbued with some cultural premises as the one being considered in this chapter, 'truth' cannot be recognized as a dominant value. Indeed, one is supposed to use language not to say what is thought to conform to reality but what is thought to conform to the ruler's opinion. Nobody, the ruler included, entertains many illusions on the sincerity of what is said, but submission has been expressed at the right time and this is felt to be most important.

This theorem could be formulated in this way: the verbal behaviour towards a superior must express dependence rather than 'truth'.

Theorem Eight

Once it is taken for granted that in hierarchical relations, behaviour must conform to the superior's expectations even to the

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

point of agreeing with all his opinions, a similar attitude tends to spread to other fields. Each time there is a conflict between what is useful to the speaker or expected from him and what he thinks, he is apt to say rather what is useful or expected.

Thus a dependent attitude in hierarchical relationships favours the extension to all social relations of a utilitarian usage of language.

5. ORIGIN OF THE INEQUALITY PREMISE

We have read the premise, as it were, into the Ruanda political and feudal organization. But this does not solve the question of their mutual priority. Had the political organization of Ruanda, as it existed at the beginning of this century, been built in order to express a belief deeply buried in the psyche of those who have slowly formed and shaped it? Or, on the contrary, is it that the premise of inequality and its sequels have been evolved from the political organization as an ideology and a set of attitudes which fitted the political situation well?

To raise such a question is certainly legitimate in the sense that it expresses a genuine problem which, if it could be solved, would add significantly to our knowledge of the working of social systems and of cultural premises. But there are certain facts crucial to the solution of that question that we are not likely ever to know, such as a good knowledge of the Tutsi culture and its premises before the pastoralists reached Ruanda. It seems possible, however, to make some comments on this problem.

Tutsi came into Ruanda as conquerors. Even if their arrival into the country inhabited by Hutu looked rather like a peaceful infiltration, it was nevertheless a conquest. They wanted to settle in the country and they built a permanent system of economic and political relations with the Hutu whereby they established themselves definitely as masters and exploiters. That is to say, a caste society evolved from their will to stabilize the conquest situation with all its advantages. Now, the more obvious rationalization of a caste structure is the belief that there are inborn and fundamental differences between the members of different castes.

This is not meant to be a schematic view of the historical origin of the Ruanda inequality premise. It is possible that Tutsi had previously to their arrival in Ruanda such a belief, perhaps already embodied in their social organization, or in their external relations with surrounding peoples, and that quite naturally they

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

ever she does, she does within the limits of her various feminine roles. However, the obligations of motherhood, of the household and of wifehood hardly prevent a woman from participating in other activities. Indeed, in Burundi, everyone is busy with politics —the large scale politics of the kingdom for the *abakuru*, the great ones, and the petty politics of daily life for the *abatoyi*, the humble folk. Women are not less interested in it than men, nor peasants less than princes. A peasant widow plays politics to obtain a length of cotton cloth or to protect against her enemies her rights to her little plot of cultivable land. A princess plays politics to obtain jewellery and cows and to decide a princely succession. A woman is sometimes driven by ambition for the sake of her son; sometimes it is to her advantage to help her husband; sometimes she enters the game entirely in her own interest. Peasant or princess, if a Rundikazi understands and desires happiness, if she knows how to dominate men in all subtlety, if she is clever and courageous, she may even defeat her own father or husband in the political game. The ambition of a Rundi or Rundikazi of inferior birth is seriously limited by the restrictive rules of the caste system. However, the ambition of a woman as such encounters only the sometimes purely apparent obstacle of a patriarchal, patrilineal system in which all the legitimate titles to wealth and power are for men.[4] Women who are ambitious and intelligent do not seem to be at a disadvantage in having to function in politics by indirect means and in secret. These are, in any case, the preferred methods of men in the delicate business of increasing power and wealth.

Thus, in Burundi as elsewhere, one finds charming but formidable matriarchs who have considerable authority and who are perhaps more intimidating than the harshest of patriarchs. On the other hand, most of the women of Burundi never even approach realization of the central values of the society. They must work to the limit of their strength so that they will not die of hunger. This is because most Rundi are of the inferior castes, where men and women share the wretchedness of the poor. It would be vain to try to calculate the difference between the misery of a man and that of a woman, if both of them are of inferior birth, without relatives or a feudal protector, old, weak and not very bright.

Neither a Rundikazi who wields great political influence nor a man of low caste who has more political power and wealth than his social superior is regarded as an outlaw. On the contrary, they are looked upon as clever and lucky. The social structure of Burundi, like that of other societies, does not describe behaviour. It only serves as a guide. A society would be crushed by the weight of

Ethel M. Albert

564 Twa. A pygmoid people, the Twa constitute less than 1·5 per cent
565 of the population. Potters and hunters in the process of becoming farmers, the Twa are pariahs, excluded almost completely from social relations with all the other Rundi and detested by them.[8] With ill grace, the Rundi grant that the Twakazi are excellent dancers and that people need the pots that they make.

564 It is by now evident that the Rundi are somewhat sensitive to
613 differences of rank, but we have by no means exhausted the social distinctions they make. Within each caste there are *abaryango*, patrilineages (literally, "doors"), which are arranged in hierarchical order, more or less as social classes. Distinctions are made among patrilineages which are called very good, good, neither good nor bad, and bad. Thus, a Tutsi of a very good patrilineage is the social superior of a Tutsi in a patrilineage that is merely good or neither
[583] good nor bad. The former expects to receive a dowry of at least four cows for his daughter, whereas the others must be satisfied with one. Hutu or Hutukazi of good patrilineages are clearly superior to the other Hutu, and a well-born Twa looks upon the other Twa as his social inferiors. Men and women together at the higher levels are superior to those, both men and women, of the inferior levels, although within each class, the men are superior to the women, and, as a general rule, the older are superior to the
[554 younger. Taken altogether, to the childless youngest daughter of
643] one of the bad patrilineages of the Twa, every Rundi without exception is the superior, and every Rundi is inferior to the *mwami*.

562 Although a woman's caste remains unchanged throughout her
564 life, her definitive place in society is determined by her marriage. In
644 general, fathers seek spouses for their children from their own
582 caste and class. However, the *mwami* and the more important
613 *baganwa* take their wives from among a dozen of the very good
643 Tutsi patrilineages. The Tutsikazi of these patrilineages, through such marriages, move up in the social hierarchy. They will be the mothers of princes. The one who becomes the *mwamikazi*, the queen-mother, will be the most important woman in the country, the superior of most Rundi men. She will receive substantial
[766] presents and much respect, and she will have considerable influence in the affairs of the kingdom. After death, she will have special funeral rites and will be buried in a cemetery reserved for the remains of the queen-mothers. Although almost any woman of a
562 very good Tutsi patrilineage may be called a *mwamikazi*, it is only
582 a figurative way of saying that she is well born. The status of women
613 born in the royal and princely patrilineages is somewhat ambiguous. They will be married by Tutsi of the patrilineages that supply

592 593 428 [591] 562 593

sons as his heritor. The mother chooses one of her daughters as her heritor, to whom she will leave her clothing, her baskets and her pot of perfumed butter. Daughters inherit nothing from their father. Sooner or later, they leave his property to go to live with their husbands. Nevertheless, when a woman says, "my home", she is referring to her father's kraal. All her life she is, like her brothers, under her father's authority. After marriage she must also obey her husband, but her father will always have the greater authority over her. She herself is the superior of her younger sisters, of her children, and if there are any, of the inferiors, servants and serfs of her husband.

554 562 [564]

The inferiority of women as women is only a special case of the general form of inferiority in Rundi society. However, both men and women have multiple roles in society. As a result, the superiority and inferiority of an individual are relative, rather than absolute, except for the *mwami* at the top of the hierarchy and the poor little Twakazi at the bottom. It has already been indicated that a social superior is sometimes inferior in the hierarchy of politics and economics. Also, the eldest brother may be the inferior of the youngest, in the likely event that the latter is chosen as the father's heritor. A Tutsikazi, the social inferior of her father and husband (provided the latter is not a Hutu), is nevertheless the superior of all the Hutu and Twa, of her children and those Tutsi who are the inferiors of her husband. Each Rundi must learn his place in relation to that of every other, calculate the distance and direction of the relationship, and find his way as well as he can through the social labyrinth.

554 557 578 [183] [595]

Despite the striking simplicity of its structure, the social hierarchy of Burundi allows for mobility and for some very complex variations in conduct. There is incontestable evidence of both constant efforts of men and women to improve their positions in society and of the associated phenomena of social instability and of fierce competition among the inferiors of a given superior. One may risk the generalization that the norms and rules dictated by the social structure will not survive a conflict with the values of wealth and power. One may say also that the greater the wealth and power of the superior, the more acute the rivalry and the more bitter the struggles among his inferiors. Thus, quarrels among Hutu, who are usually very poor, are rarely more than noisy spats quickly forgotten, while the silent hatreds of the Tutsi, born of the desire to own cows, sometimes explode in murder and fratricide. Quarrels among sisters, who inherit nothing of value, are rarely as bitter or prolonged as quarrels among brothers. On the other hand,

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

rivalry among a man's plural wives and among sisters-in-law constitutes a serious domestic problem. Moreover, there are persistent rumours which have never been effectively squelched that the late queen-mother arranged for the death of her son, the former *mwami*, for political reasons. Maternal tenderness and friendship cannot stand up against the pressures of economic and political self-interest. Moreover, instability is a result, probably an inevitable one, of the very wide powers of superiors over their inferiors.

Ubukuru, superiority or seniority, is everywhere of the same pattern—in the relationship between the *mwami* and his subjects, between parents and children, between Tutsi and Hutu, between husband and wife. The superior is active, the inferior passive. The superior commands, the other obeys. Out of respect, the inferior waits while the superior drinks first, eats first, walks ahead of him. If there are burdens to carry, it is the inferior who carries them—the Hutu for his Tutsi master, the wife for her husband, the children for their mother. A powerful taboo forbids a Hutu to look on while a prince or a Tutsi eats or drinks. There is no comparable taboo in domestic life, but the husband usually eats alone, or he may invite his wife to join him. Children, always inferiors, always eat afterwards and apart.

The concept of *ubukuru* as chronological seniority is relevant to changes in social role according to age. The changes of social status for women, from child and adolescent to wife and mother, then to mother-in-law and grandmother, constitute a progression towards independence, power and the other attributes of superiority. For men, there is a progression of approximately the same kind. The boy during childhood and adolescence is of no importance; at marriage, a man is superior to his wife and children, but he remains subordinated to the authority of his father and the lineage chief; if he is clever and wealthy enough to pay for the beer for the ceremony, he will be initiated when he is about forty-five years old, as an *umushingantahe*, a mature man qualified to serve as a judge and councillor. In his old age, when he has become feeble, a man is obliged to retire from active participation in important matters. The principle of increase of power with age is valid throughout the life-span for women. Nevertheless, superiority is not determined by chronological age but by social role.

To ask for a gift, say the Rundi, is to honour; to give a gift is to like. It is the superior who gives, the inferior who asks. In order to receive, it is necessary to obey, but everything depends on the will and the affection of the superior. He will give if he wants to; if not

he will not give; and if he wishes, he will take back what he has already given in order to give it to someone he likes better. An inferior, whether it be the serf of a Tutsi or a wife in relation to her husband, can protest only in vain that he has worked hard, that he has always been docile and obedient, that he has always liked and respected his superior. There are no formal sanctions against a superior who accepts services and goods from his inferior and gives him nothing in return. However, there are more subtle measures to be taken against him. An inferior, if he has any alternative open to him, will abandon an ungenerous superior.

Sometimes a Tutsi deserts a prince who has not given him cows or a subchiefdom, in order to enter service with one who is more generous and powerful. A son may leave the property of his father if he is not satisfied with his heritage and will enter service with a stranger who promises to give him lands and cows. A woman will return to her father's home if her husband mistreats her, and ask her father to find her a better husband. When those who are dissatisfied complain publicly about ungenerous superiors, they will have difficulty in replacing the inferiors who desert them. However, if one does not find another superior with whom to take refuge, it is necessary to stay with the bad one and to resign oneself to unhappiness, sometimes to hunger, sometimes to death. For, physical violence is the privilege of the superior. It is up to him to instruct and correct his inferiors by words and blows. Or, if he is in a bad humour, his inferiors are always around, and he can take out his displeasure on them. Children expect to be beaten by their parents, serfs and servants by their master and mistress, and a woman, even an *imfura*, considers it quite normal for her husband to beat her, especially if she has been difficult or if he has had a good deal to drink. According to the ideal, a superior is always benevolent, generous, wise and just. Beating does not suggest a lack of affection. If the superior does not give presents to his inferior, then it is known that he does not like him.

In principle, *umutima*, sentiment (literally, "the heart"), is always combined with the material value of a gift. *Urukundo*, love or affection, rather than law or rights, explains the gifts of superiors and the services rendered by inferiors. It is possible that the Rundi insist so much upon the importance of sentiment and love because they have so little of them. However this may be, there is no doubting their joy and sense of well-being when they receive even the smallest present. However, they mistrust *urukundo:* love can change to hate very quickly, they say. Inferiors are always afraid that the superior will stop liking them or will send them packing

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

or will take back the cow he has given. In turn, superiors consider defection and disloyalty as the worst of crimes. Even if a servant is insolent and lazy, he will be well taken care of if he always tells his master whatever news and rumours he has heard about him. A woman who is disagreeable, lazy or even sterile will not be chased from the household if she is clever in helping her husband with his business and if she never speaks ill of him. An individual may have confidence only in his blood-friend, male or female. However, occasionally, true friendship ties a vassal to his chief or a *mwami-kazi* to her confidential servant. In these secure and friendly relationships, the principals tell each other their troubles, give each other advice, and remain loyal to each other forever. It is a matter for much discussion when a husband and wife stay together for 20 years, both married and mutually affectionate. However, neighbours, acquaintances, relatives, and spouses, it is said, do not remain friendly for a very long time. Several months, at most two or three years, suffice to create reasons for hatred, jealousy, vengeance, burning a house, calumny, fights, and visits to the witch to obtain poison.

The maximum of instability is associated with the role of the *abatoni*, the favourites. Fierce rivalry is considered normal among inferiors of the same rank—the men of the princely courts, brothers, plural wives, the servants of the Tutsi. The favourite son or wife is envied by his or her peers and must expect quarrels, poison and calumny. Because a superior may easily change his mind about a favourite, someone else will wait hopefully to take his place, In fact, happiness—many children, a good harvest, a cow which gives much milk, a present large or small—is the mark of the favourites of *Imana* and of human beings. One has received, one is liked by a superior, one is hated by all those who have not received. By this syllogism, it is logical for a rich Tutsi to be jealous both of a poor Hutukazi who has just received from her son-in-law a length of cheap cotton cloth and of a rich Tutsi who has just received another cow. To receive and be liked are identical. Together, they constitute the core of the well-being of inferiors.

Although *ubgenge*, intelligence, is normally accounted an attribute of superiors, it is well understood that inferiors have great need of it. The superior must be intelligent in order to exercise his authority, to judge well of his inferiors, to know the right moment to give and to take back. The *ubgenge* of an inferior has obviously to be of another kind. His goal is to make his superior like him. He must therefore understand his character, his moods, his fears, his desires. He must learn how to flatter him and to seem

554 always loyal and devoted. The *umutoni* is before all else an informer.
571 It is the way to show his interest in the well-being of his superior. It is for this that he is favoured and given gifts. Men who are poor or women who are by law without property, if they know how to play the role of the inferior effectively, can become rich, have their advice heeded, and find life most agreeable.

Attitudes and behaviour change according to role. Everyone has his turn as an inferior, if not to a human being, then to *Imana*. Adult Rundi have their turn as superiors to their children and to various others according to their rank. There is an astonishing ease and rapidity of psychological change according to the situation.
[586] The very man who explains to you today that he has sent his wife back home because she did not work enough, will tell you tomorrow that he was dismissed by his master for no other reason than that his enemies calumniated him—he does not see that he has been disobedient or lazy. A woman who has just served her husband his dinner from a humble, kneeling position, on leaving the house, gives haughty, authoritative commands to the men who work for her. Like any other superior, a woman as the mistress of her house, as a mother, and as an elder sister, commands and punishes. She is respected, she chooses her favourites, and her inferiors ask her for presents. When her role is that of an inferior, she must be obedient, she must work, she must ask for presents, she tries to win the affection of her superior, and she is jealous of those who receive presents.

461 The Rundi conception of the innate differences between men
562 and women is as well-defined as their conception of the innate
564 differences among the various castes and of much the same content. Both Tutsi and Hutu and men and women agree on the stereotypic differences of physique and of psychology between the two sexes. To begin with, it is believed that women are better suited by nature than men for manual labour. They work better and longer in the
[482] fields than men. The Hutukazi are able to carry on their heads burdens twice as heavy as those which men can carry. It is generally known that there are more old men than old women and that
[165] women age more quickly than men. The Rundi refuse categorically the hypothesis that those who work harder die younger. Men and women both insist that women are made for work and that they
[842] die younger because of the hardships of child-bearing. It is nonetheless believed that the male role is more important than that of the female in procreation. Woman, says the proverb, is only the passive earth; it is the man who provides the seed.

562 Stronger than men, women are thought to be less agile. Conse-
593

593 her husband and to have a good life with him only if she is liked
776 by *Imana*.

564 The dowry represents wealth for the father. The average Tutsi
583 expects to receive a cow for his daughter, an average Hutu eight hoes. However, today the Hutu often and the Tutsi sometimes pay
[556] the dowry in cash. For the husband, the dowry purchases the
[178] children produced by the woman during the term of their marriage. For the young woman, the dowry is a measure of her social value. She has discussed with other girls how much a man will have to give for her. Young Tutsikazi flatter each other by saying that they are certainly worth four cows—the dowry of a Tutsikazi of a very good patrilineage. A Hutukazi may boast of the 2,500 Congo francs (50 dollars) that were given for her, for everyone knows that 1,500 Congo francs (30 dollars) is the average for a Hutukazi. Or, a poor woman who is slightly mad is overcome by shame, for everyone knows that her father has given her in marriage without demanding a dowry. The more one has given for a young woman,
[554] the higher her social status. The wife of a wealthy man will have
[556] more clothes and less work, more respect and less hardship, than the wife of a poor man.

562 Although a young woman looks forward to marriage to rise
585 above her painfully low status as a female child, she knows very well that what lies before her is a lifetime of work and that she will for a long time be under the authority of others. She is in effect sent from her father's household, where she works for her mother, to her husband's household, where she works for her husband and her mother-in-law. Regarding the sentiments of the husband towards his wife, or of men in general towards women, it is enough
[538] to mention that in the rich oral literature of Burundi, there is not one poem or song of love. At best, among the *amazina*—praise-
[533] poems, most of which praise the king or a generous patron or the man himself as a warrior—there are several which praise a good wife. She is praised for her cleverness, for her indefatigable efforts on behalf of her husband, for the cleanness of the butter she churns, and she may be given the compliment of comparison with a cow. In all truth, a man may sometimes have a great love, or be infatuated
[152] with his wife or his mistress. He does not talk about it very much; he would certainly not talk about it with strangers. At all events, love is not relevant to married life except in the general form it takes as the basis of the exchange of gifts and services between superiors and inferiors.

591 Every married woman of every class and caste works for her
[593] husband. Often a bride goes to live in the same household with her

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

their friends, especially if they are away from home. A wife who always gives abundant beer and food to her husband's friends is, by so doing, showing respect for her husband.

Beauty does not count very heavily, but a man is not displeased if people notice that his wife is attractive and well-fleshed, has a long and narrow nose, a light skin, and is somewhat like a cow. If a woman is fortunate, she will have a child every two years, and the children will not die. One of the most fortunate women of whom the Rundi spoke—a Tutsikazi *imfura*, needless to say—gave birth to a child virtually every 11 months. The husband of a wife who produces many children is a real man, and people always speak highly of the fathers of many children.

A husband supervises his wife, as every superior supervises his inferiors, and he must punish her if she does not do as she ought. Hence, a Tutsi will not hesitate to go to see whether all the clothes he has given his wife are in the baskets that serve as wardrobes for women. He also goes to see if everything is clean. If he is not satisfied, he will warn his wife that she must change her ways. Sometimes she makes excuses. Perhaps she has not worked well because she has been ill, or because she had to do a great deal of work for her mother-in-law, because several of the workers have run off to Uganda, because her husband ordered more work than she had strength to do. A considerate husband will check up on his wife's explanations. If he is satisfied that they are correct, he will do his best to see that she has help, even if he has to help her himself. A man of bad character, however, does not accept any excuses. He will beat his wife, he will insult her, and she can expect to be sent back home, unless she becomes angry and goes back without waiting to be sent.

The Rundi speak a great deal about "good character" and "bad character". Character, for them, explains most of human behaviour. Obviously, the ideal marriage unites a woman of good character with a man of good character. However, there are a great many people of bad character, probably most people. This explains, they say, the numerous quarrels and divorces. People know what they ought to do, but they don't do it. In all truth, a young woman lives like a nomad. She goes from her father's home to the home of her first husband, then after quarrels or divorce back again to her father, then to a second husband, then back to her father, until at last she finds a husband who pleases her and who at the same time is pleased with her. Divorce is forbidden those who are Catholics. Nevertheless, for them as for the other Rundi, married life is no more peaceful than any other interpersonal relationship among the

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

protection of her grandparents. It is best if she is obedient and thus avoid blows and dinnerless nights.

Friendship between a woman and her daughter must wait until the latter is herself a mother. If a married daughter is kind, she will ask her husband for permission to go to help her mother during the busy season. From her married son, a woman expects presents. If he is too poor to give gifts, she will mock and shame him. If he arrives at her home empty-handed, if he comes back from a job in Uganda or the city without something for her, she will be enraged. It means her son does not like her, for he has not given her a present. However, an intelligent woman very early chooses one of her sons as her favourite—usually a different one from the father's favourite. She struggles on his behalf against the other children of her husband, above all against his half-brothers, the sons of his father's other wives. She protects his heritage, she does not remarry even if left a widow very early, she prevents the brothers of her deceased husband from taking possession of her husband's cows or from chasing her and the children off of her husband's property. A widow, particularly among the Tutsi, prefers to remain on the property given her by her husband without remarrying. She is thus finally independent of a husband's authority. To live where her favourite son lives assures her happiness. A good son, it is said, puts the happiness of his mother before that of his wife.

A full analysis of Rundi "Momism" is not possible here. It seems to depend in part on the biological and symbolic importance of food, which the mother gives or refuses at will; in part on the maternal sorcery of sacrificing her own interests for the sake of her sons; in part on the psychological power of which a mother assures herself during her son's infancy by making him very happy when she praises him and causing him great unhappiness and shame when she ridicules him. Children are, in any event, obliged to respect and love their parents, that is to say, to work for them and to obey them.

When a woman is at last a mother-in-law and grandmother, she has reached the high point of her life as a woman. A mother-in-law and her son-in-law, no matter what their caste, address each other as *umufasoni*, noble. Their relationship is one of highly formal respect, politeness of the highest degree, no jokes and no quarrels. A mother-in-law is the uncontested superior of her daughters-in-law. She orders them to work, she must be given respect, she chooses one of them as her favourite—the one who works the most for her, who is most obedient and docile. Towards her grand-

Towards her grand- *Ethel M. Albert*

603 children, a grandmother may at last dare to indulge openly in
554 revealing her sentiments, without, however, neglecting practical considerations. Grandparents joke with their grandchildren, spoil them, protect them against their parents' anger, and, if they are
[769] not believing Christians, they expect their grandchildren will in due course perform the ceremonies in honour of the *imizimu*, the spirits of dead grandparents.

* * *

577 The most direct route to happiness is conformity to the norms
829 and rules of society. Most Rundi have some roles in which they are superior and others in which they are inferior and the accompanying obligations and compensations. A good wife of a generous and reasonable husband, a good mother of numerous and good children, a good mother-in-law of obedient and industrious daughters-in-law and of respectful sons-in-law, will be a happy woman. Unfortunately, it is necessary to take into account the ever-present and infamous "bad characters", the numberless misfortunes sent by *Imana* when he is in a bad humour, the truth that *Imana*—or, if one prefers, Nature, biology, or genetics—does not always pay attention to social norms. Thus, it can happen that a man is not qualified for the role of patriarch, that he suffers all his life the oppression of a nagging shrew. It can happen that a woman is born too weak for manual labour. If she does not find a kind husband who will carry the burden of the work of the household or a rich one who can provide her with workers, she will die very miserable and very young. It can also happen that a woman is more intelligent and more enterprising than her father, her husband, or her son. A woman of this kind is ordinarily encouraged to make use of her gifts—intelligence must not be wasted—but sometimes an energetic woman is tied to a husband who is cruel and stupid and can do nothing with her good-for-nothing sons. In the social life of Burundi, the motto is, everyone for himself. Each must do what he can with whatever *Imana* has given him.

There are many Rundikazi who are unfortunate and wretched—
[562] orphans, the daughters of avaricious and cruel fathers, the wives of bad husbands, childless widows, the poor and the sick—in brief, those who do not have the favour of *Imana*. Let us pass in sad silence from their pathetic lot to the more fortunate women, those who have succeeded, despite the inevitable woes of life, in obtain-
562 ing at least some measure of happiness, and to the true favourites
554 of *Imana*, the well-born women who are at maturity true matriarchs. The absolute quantity of power and wealth depends upon birth. A

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

562
554

mwamikazi and a wealthy Tutsikazi are matriarchs on a much grander scale than is possible for any Hutukazi. Nevertheless, the character model and the methods for success as a matriarch are quite the same. Furthermore, although the methods employed by women are not in every detail like those of men, there is only one character model for the matriarch and the patriarch, that of the superior. By the same token, there is only one character model for those in the roles of inferiors. The latter are always alert to opportunities for asking some good thing of a superior. If one road is closed, it is necessary to find another. If a husband is not generous, a woman will ask one of her brothers for gifts, or she will wait until her sons are grown. When fortunate people have received gifts, they obviously have something to give, and they thus may expect petitioners to come to them for gifts. Yet again, if a man is muddled by drink, his wife or his vassal or someone who wants his favour will make a request of a gift in the presence of others; a promise given, drunk or sober, before witnesses must be respected at the risk of losing one's fair name. The rules of society provide only for a minimum of happiness. One must rely upon intelligence to point the way to supplementary means and to profit from every favourable circumstance.

431
554
557
562

Like any normal citizen of Burundi, a Rundikazi desires as much power and authority as possible, which is to say, numerous inferiors, including children, workers, feudal followers; wealth, which is to say, for women who can inherit nothing, many gifts from men and from wealthier women; respect and love, which amounts to having many inferiors; elegance, which is again to say many gifts, but also education in the home of a princess; many children, which depends on the will of *Imana;* protection against one's enemies, that is, against one's rivals and one's mother-in-law; and the good luck to retain what has been received from *Imana* and from human beings, which again depends on *Imana* and also on one's own intelligence, courage and strength of character. There is decidedly no psychological conflict in women of strong character, nor is there any conflict between feminine ambitions and social norms. Everything is taken care of by the functional norms of the society.

183
431
554
562

A woman starts very young to calculate what she needs in order to be happy. From her father she expects little more than that he will find her a husband who is wealthy and reasonable, or better yet, tractable; that he will allow her to return home if she is not satisfied with a husband and will find her a better one; that he will from time to time give her gifts. If a father has a tendency to turn

554
562
593

Ethel M. Albert

554 a deaf ear to his daughter's wishes in the matter of changing a
562 husband, she will perhaps make the necessary arrangements on
593 her own initiative with the husband she prefers, and the father will have no choice but to accept the new arrangements. From her husband, a woman expects to receive gifts in proportion to his wealth—clothing, copper bracelets, beads, cows, money. She also wishes workmen and servants, so that she will not have to perform the menial tasks of inferiors; so that she will have a great many inferiors to supervise; so that she will enjoy sufficient energy and leisure for the planning and plotting necessary to increase her wealth and her influence in family affairs, economic matters and politics. As her husband's business partner, an intelligent woman will be consulted at every turn or she may not even wait for her husband to ask her advice. She decides what must be done, and her decisions must be respected. A wife who is well-established will almost certainly be the preferred intermediary of those who seek the favour of her husband. As an intermediary, she receives gifts, particularly pots of beer, to persuade her to intervene with the superior. An intelligent woman who finds herself with more beer than she needs will send a servant to sell it and keep the money
[556] for herself. For women in the lower castes, there are various optional roles through which they can earn money. They may sell the excess baskets they weave; they may be midwives; they may be
562 *bapfumu*, physician-pharmacists who sell medicines and amulets;
556 they may be governesses or ladies-in-waiting for good families. A
554 husband takes great pride in a wife who becomes wealthy. Her
593 wealth advertises her cleverness and is at all events obtained at no cost to him. Some women, it is said, are so intelligent that a prince will make them *abashingantahe*, judges and councillors. Women who have this honoured position receive cows, clothing, jewellery and serfs. On occasion, a woman of this kind may be wealthier than her husband, but he has every reason to be pleased to have such a wife. A wealthy woman will keep some of her cows for herself for milk and butter. Others she will give to those who come and ask of her, and these will become her feudal followers who will work for her, respect her, and go about in quest of information for her.

554 The frequent absences of the husband are opportunities for a
562 woman to show herself capable of managing the property. Work
593 is for inferiors and is not a source of honour. It nevertheless
[46] establishes the realistic dependence of the superior upon his inferior, and it forms the solid basis, sometimes explicitly recognized, of the relationship between superior and inferior. A good

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

manager is indispensable to a wealthy man, for he has many feudal vassals, serfs, cows and lands. A woman of a powerful and wealthy patrilineage can be of great assistance to her husband in the matter of forming useful political alliances. The wife will probably have considerable influence with her brothers and perhaps also with her father.

The higher the social status of a woman, the higher will be the social status of her husband, and hence the higher the status of the visitors she entertains. In her role as hostess, a clever woman can profit very materially from the visits of her husband's friends and superiors. If she knows she pleases them, she will do them the honour of asking them for cows and other gifts. If her favourite son is ready to take his place in the world, she will look around among the visitors for a likely prospect of whom her son can ask a cow, if it is a family where the traditional values still prevail, or of whom he can ask for a job, if the son has been trained in European schools. In addition, the fair name of a man among his friends depends in no small measure upon the magnificence of the hospitality provided in his home by his wife and upon the gossip that circulates between the visitors and the wife. If a woman is satisfied with her husband, she will see to it that visitors have a good impression of the man. She will find ways to get information to gauge the friendliness of the visitors towards her husband. She will recognize his enemies and know how to defeat them. If she hears from the visitors that there are rumours to the effect that her husband is no longer loyal to his superior, that he does not take care of the cows which his superior has given him, that he will soon be removed from his position and his wealth taken away from him, she will probably seek means to save *him, since his downfall will* also be hers. However, if the husband is not clever, if he has not been generous, and if the wife sees a way to move to a more favourable position in another marriage, she will risk adding her calumny to the rest. It does not happen often, but when a woman has succeeded in ruining her husband, men talk about it for a long, long time. A mature woman prefers to stay with her husband and then, as a widow, with her favourite son. Among the men with whom she is in contact—her father, her brothers, her husband, her brothers-in-law, her cousins, her sons, and her visitors—an intelligent woman will certainly find a few who are generous and obliging and through whom she can obtain the wealth and power that she desires.

In all this, it is not to be forgotten that a woman is the inferior of her husband and of his distinguished visitors. To get what is wanted, an inferior must know how to please superiors, unfailingly

554 displaying in public the respect and obedience due them. An
562 intelligent woman makes herself liked or feared, according to the
513 character of the men with whom she is dealing. Occasionally, it is
said of a Rundi that "his house is burning", that is to say, despite
[195] the show of respect, his wife rules the roost. He is afraid of her, she nags him, she criticizes him, she wants to decide everything, and one fine day she will put poison in his beer, or she will calumniate him. However, a woman need not dominate her husband in so heavy-handed a fashion to earn her laurels as matriarch. She has her own inferiors to dominate, and there are other ways to become the *umutoni* of her husband and the other men. Apart from her ability as the mistress of her house and her generosity as a hostess, apart from all her obligations, a woman as an inferior is likely to understand very well the uses of flattery and subservience. She knows how to be an informant, to calumniate her superior's enemies as well as her own hated rivals, to show herself always loyal and devoted, to make the welfare of her superior her primary concern. She also knows how to satisfy sexual desires, the need for alcohol, and other demands of the body and the spirit. Superiors, apart from their economic dependence upon their inferiors, seem to seek them also for the satisfaction of what appear to be exceedingly urgent needs for love, respect, and loyalty and for entertainment that will take their minds off their troubles. It is to have these needs satisfied that they make presents, that they give what is asked of them. An intelligent woman busies herself with satisfying the desires of her superiors and thereby making herself indispensable to their happiness. Neither the Sophists, nor Machiavelli, nor the courtiers of Louis XIV have anything to teach the Rundi. An intelligent Rundikazi, like any
[557] intelligent social inferior, knows that to obtain happiness it is necessary only to say yes—to play along with the internal weaknesses and needs by which the superior is enslaved.

NOTES

193 [1]*Linguistic note:* Bantu prefixes have been dropped from words that refer to the inhabitants of Burundi. They are referred to as "Rundi" and by their caste-names, Tutsi, Hutu and Twa. Other words of the language retain their Bantu form, e.g., *mwami*, king; *mwamikazi*, queen-mother or princess, *bamikazi* in the plural; *mupanwa*, prince, *bapanwa* in the plural. The suffix, *-kazi*, designates the feminine. For "Rundi woman," "Tutsi woman," "Hutu woman," or "Twa woman," the Rundi forms will be used, i.e., "Rundikazi," "Tutsikazi," "Hutukazi," and "Twakazi."